GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,
(*Commander-in-chief of the Patriot Armies.*)

THE BATTLES

OF THE

War for Independence

BEING THE STORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR and THE WAR OF 1812, TO WHICH IS ADDED THE BATTLES IN MEXICO.

BY

PRESCOTT HOLMES

With Seventy Illustrations.

PHILADELPHIA
HENRY ALTEMUS

HENRY ALTEMUS, MANUFACTURER,
PHILADELPHIA.

PREFACE.

Of the various subjects forming portions of the history of a nation, none has been so generally acceptable to young people as the record of its WARS. The school histories of the country must necessarily be brief in their descriptions of the various movements of the armies, and the various conflicts in which they have been engaged. It would exceed the limits of a work of this nature to attempt any relation of all the skirmishes in our country's history, but we have endeavored to bring together the story of the decisive events, and the resulting effects.

The little Eastern States, thickening with population, had to find an outlet in the direction of the West. Those fertile sections were greedily coveted by the new settlers, and quietly appropriated; and the Red man was pushed along in the direction of sunset. He persisted in cherishing his natural hatred of the interlopers upon his hunting-grounds, and his villages became the encampments of resentment, discontent, and meditated vengeance.

We have made no attempt to recount the numberless battles with the Indians. After their own fashion they fought for their homes, their property, their families, and their rights. They were sometimes armed—but never had *field*-pieces—and the result of the fighting was never doubtful.

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THE BATTLES OF AMERICA.

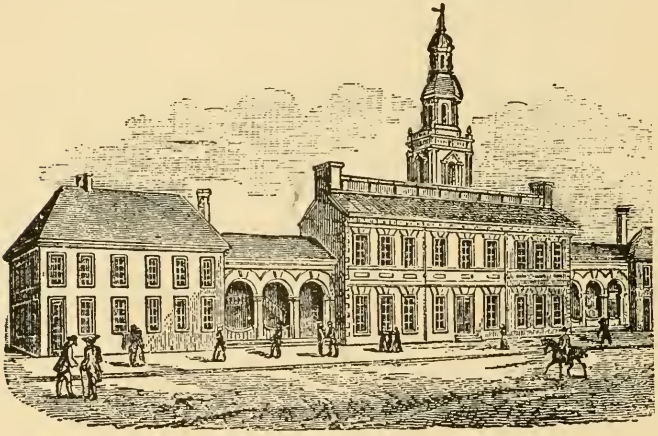
CHAPTER I.

In and Around Boston (1775-1776).

The troubles that had for so long existed between the colonies and the mother country culminated with the Boston "Tea Party's" demonstration of independence. When the news reached England that 342 chests of tea had been cast overboard, a howl of rage went up from the King, his Ministers, and the merchants. The port of Boston was declared closed against all commerce till the tea should be paid for. The colonists realized that if the port of Boston could be closed, all the ports from New Hampshire to Georgia could also be closed, and the trade of the entire country ruined. The Northern and Southern States were drawn together by this new danger. "Don't pay for an ounce of their damned tea," was the message sent by Georgia's governor to the patriots of Boston. This voiced the general feeling of the entire community. Samuel and John Adams, Patrick Henry, and James Otis by their stirring and patriotic speeches aroused the people over the whole land.

Monday, September 5, 1774, was a great and important day in the annals of English America. It was the day on which the Congress of the United Provinces met in solemn session at Philadelphia. The Continental Congress had been a great success. Its counsels and

resolves were ratified by all but one of the Provincial Congresses and Legislative Assemblies, and it was very generally felt that a protest of the most authentic and weighty kind possible had been made against the encroachments of the mother country. New York refused, in its representative chamber, to recognize what had been done and affirmed at Philadelphia. Here a large and influential class was imbued with royalist principles. Many of the rich colonists were



INDEPENDENCE HALL IN 1776.

connected with families of distinction in England, and New York City had been the headquarters of the British army in America.

The soul of the movement now rapidly leading to rebellion was undoubtedly Massachusetts; but Virginia had also a large share in the work of revolution. The petition of the Continental Congress was presented to King George III by Benjamin Franklin and the agents of Massachusetts only, the other colonial representa-

tives refusing to join. The King promised that it should be presented to Parliament, and in the meanwhile the professional politicians talked the matter over, with little agreement as to what should be done. The King remained firm in his policy of simple and unrelieved coercion.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

In February, 1775, it was resolved to raise the British army in Boston to 10,000 men, and to supersede General Gage by a general of greater capacity. The post was offered to Amherst, but he refused the command, unless he was placed at the head of 20,000 troops. It was next offered to General Oglethorpe,

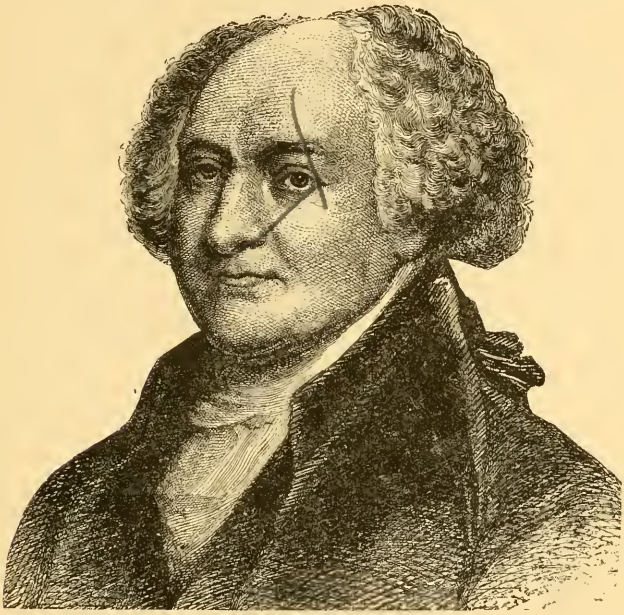
who would undertake the task only on condition of being furnished with powers of concession and con-

GEORGE III, KING OF ENGLAND.

ciliation, which were denied him. The post was finally accepted by Sir William Howe.

Under his command, Howe had two Major-Generals whose names became conspicuous in our history—Henry

Clinton and John Burgoyne. Clinton was a scion of the ducal houses of New Castle and Bedford, and son of a former colonial Governor of New York. While Burgoyne's military abilities were not of the highest order, they were respectable, and his courage was



JOHN ADAMS.
(*Afterwards President of the United States.*)

beyond reproach. Howe had no reason to be discontented with either of his subordinates.

Every week added to the enthusiasm of the people, and Massachusetts still kept the lead. At a second interview with the American Commissioners John Adams was the spokesman, and said: "If Great

Britain were united, she could not subdue a country a thousand leagues off. How many years, how many millions, did it take to conquer the poor province of Canada?" * * * He denied that the Parliament of England had authority over America. It had none by Old or New Testament law; none by the law of nature or of nations; none by the common law of England, nor by statute law.

The winter wore away in preparations for strife on both sides; but these preparations were far more vigorous on the part of the colonists than on that of the British officials. Assistance flowed into Massachusetts from the other colonies, and a determination to die in defense of the common liberty was very generally expressed. In the North, Gage looked on with indolent good nature which he occasionally varied by unsuccessful attempts at severity. The colonists lost no opportunity of irritating the authorities by every demonstration of their sentiment which it was possible to make. The military were insulted with the utmost elaboration of studied affront. Any one considered as favoring the Government was liable to intimidation and to actual outrage. The royalist sympathizers were mobbed and terrified, and it was no uncommon spectacle to see a particularly obnoxious individual, after being treated to a coat of tar and feathers, ridden on a rail out of the town.

LEXINGTON.—General Gage, learning that the "Committee of Supplies" appointed by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts were gathering military stores at Concord, sent about 800 men, under Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, to destroy them. Attempts of this character had been expected, and a strict watch was kept; and as signals were concerted to announce the first movement of troops for the country, a timely message

TARRING AND FEATHERING A ROYALIST SYMPATHIZER.

from Warren led the Committee to remove a part of the stores and to secrete the cannon.

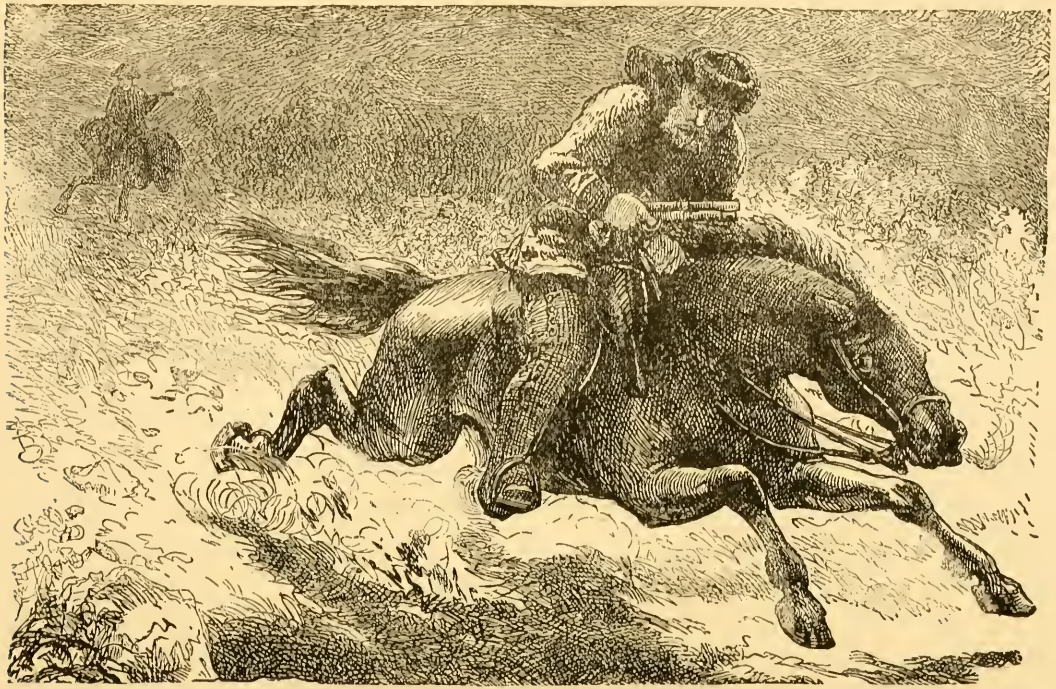
On April 18, 1775, ten sergeants in disguise spread themselves through Cambridge, and farther west, to intercept all communication. In the following night the grenadiers and light infantry crossed in boats to East Cambridge and took the road through West Cambridge to Concord.

"They will miss their aim," said one of a party who observed their departure. "What aim!" asked Lord Percy, who overheard the remark. "The cannon at Concord," was the answer. Percy hastened to Gage with the news, who directed that no one should be allowed to leave the town. But Warren had already despatched William Dawes through Roxbury, and Paul Revere by way of Charlestown to Lexington.

Revere was stopped by two British officers, but being mounted on a fine horse he escaped. As he rode through Medford he aroused the Captain of the Minute-men, and stopping at almost every house on his way to Lexington, the inhabitants were prepared to discharge the important duty which was rapidly devolving upon them. Dawes reached Lexington in safety.

The two friends were joined by Samuel Prescott—an active *Son of Liberty*—and the three rode forward, calling up the people as they passed along, till in Lincoln they fell in with a party of British officers. Revere and Dawes were seized and taken back to Lexington, where they were released, but Prescott escaped and galloped on towards Concord, spreading the alarm along the road, and in the villages through which he passed.

He reached Concord about two o'clock in the morning, and the alarm bell, on the belfry of the meeting-house, brought together the inhabitants, young and old, with their firelocks, ready to make good the

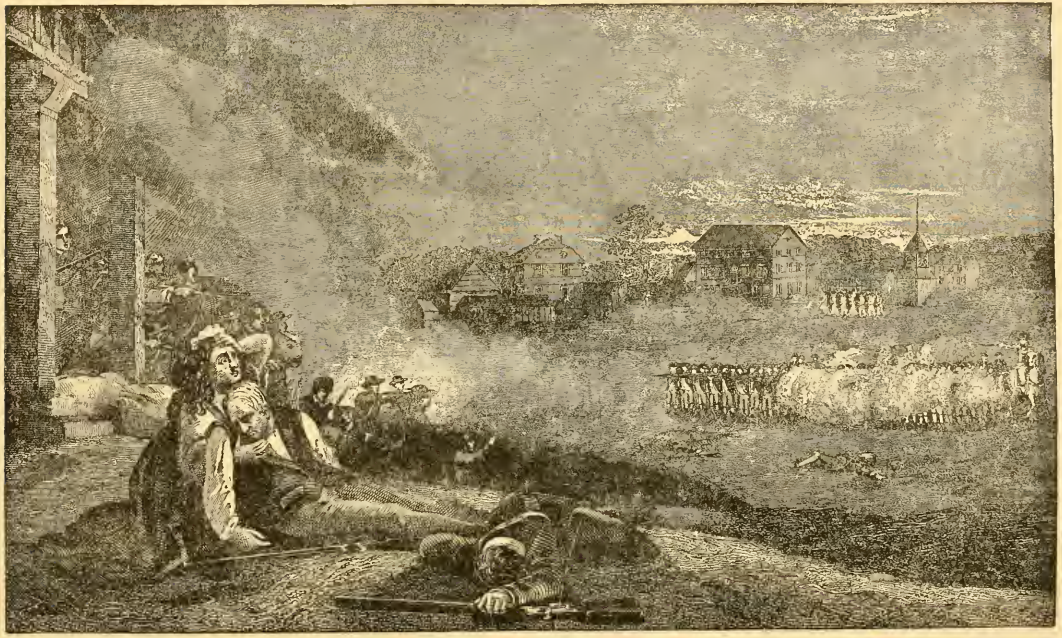


resolute words of their town debates. Messengers hurried out to distant villages, or hurried away the stores and provisions, and secreted them in the woods and thickets, a load in a place.

At Lexington, by two o'clock, the village green was thronged with excited men. The aged stood shoulder to shoulder with their sons; and by their example and experience gave encouragement and strength to the undisciplined masses who were present. 130 men answered to their names. The Captain, John Parker, ordered every one to load with powder and ball, but to take care not to be the first to fire. No signs of the approach of the enemy being visible, they were dismissed, with orders to reassemble at the roll of the drum.

About eleven o'clock, the foremost party, led by Pitcairn, a major of marines, was advancing quickly and in silence. Alarm guns were fired, and the drums beat. The British seeing that their advance was known, detached six companies of light infantry, with orders to press on, by a forced march, to Concord, and secure the two bridges over the river. Messengers were despatched to Boston for reinforcements.

Pitcairn advanced rapidly towards Lexington, capturing several persons on the way. One of these escaping, hastened to Lexington, and informed Captain Parker of the approach of the enemy. The drums beat, and about 70, who were in the neighborhood, assembled on the green, half of whom were without arms. Parker ordered those without arms to go into the meeting-house and equip themselves and join the company, while those who were armed, 38 in number, he directed to follow him to the north end of the green, where he formed them in line, in single file. Before those who were in the meeting-house could obtain arms and ammunition, Pitcairn and his detachment



BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

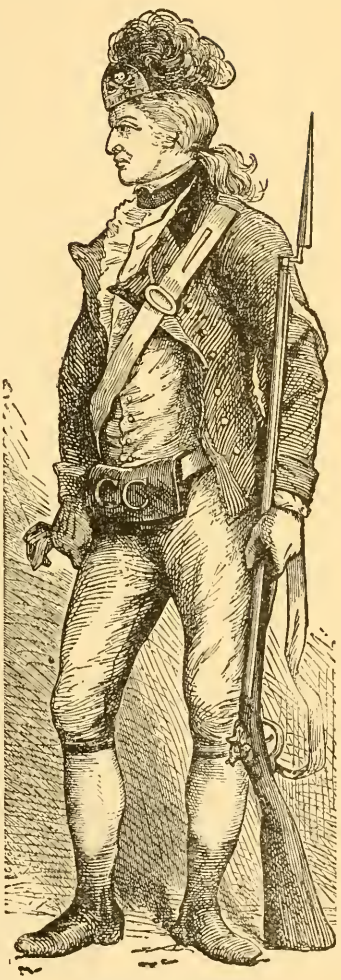
BRITISH GRENADIER.

came up, and wheeled so as to cut the former off, and prevented them from joining their comrades under Parker.

Marching up by column of platoons, the enemy advanced within 50 feet of the position occupied by Parker, and there halted. Pitcairn then advanced a few feet in front of his men, brandished his sword, and shouted, "Lay down your arms, you damned rebels, or you are all dead men;" and immediately afterwards, "*the rebels*" failing to comply with his first order, he directed his men to "*Fire.*" The order was followed first by a few guns, which did no execution, and then by a close and deadly discharge of musketry. In the disparity of numbers Parker ordered every man to take care of himself, and they accordingly dispersed. While they were retreating, the second platoon of the enemy fired, killing several and wounding others. Then, and not till then, did a few of the Patriots, on their

own impulse, return the British fire. These random shots of fugitives or dying men did no harm. Seven of the Patriots were killed and nine wounded. One who was taken prisoner, was shot in his endeavor to escape.

Thus was the first blood of the American Patriots shed by George III, and from that hour the domination of England over America passed forever away. Thus was fought the first skirmish for liberty, at Lexington, on April 19, 1775.



AMERICAN RIFLEMAN.

CONCORD.—The British pushed on to Concord, and destroyed the stores. The liberty-pole and several gun-carriages were burned; the Court-house took fire, but the fire was put out. The Patriots on the rising ground above Concord bridge had increased to more than 400. One of them inquired earnestly, "Will you let them burn down the town?" An impromptu council was held on the spot, and

with noble firmness it was resolved "to march into the middle of the town for its defense, or die in the attempt."

Colonel Barrett, on horseback in the rear, gave orders to advance, but not to fire unless attacked. "I have not a man that is afraid to go," said Isaac Davis, of Acton; and drawing his sword, he cried, "March!" His company being on the right, led the way towards the bridge, he, himself, at their head, and by his side Major John Buttrick, of Concord, followed by the Minute-men and militia, in double file, trailing arms. The British began to take up the planks; to prevent it, the Patriots quickened their steps. At this the British fired one or two shots up the river; then another, by which two were wounded. A volley followed, and Isaac Davis, and Abner Hosmer, the deacon's son, fell dead.

On seeing this, Major Buttrick gave the orders, "*Fire, fellow-soldiers; for God's sake, fire;*" and a general discharge from the whole line of the Patriots was given, several of the enemy, including three lieutenants, falling on the spot. In two minutes, all was hushed. The British retreated in disorder towards their main body; the countrymen were left in possession of the bridge. This is the world-renowned *Battle of Concord;* more eventful than Agincourt, or Blenheim.

The Patriots had acted from impulse. They made no pursuit. The enemy observed their movements with anxiety and alarm. Everything indicated a spirit of resolute opposition, and the British Colonel, Smith, prepared for a hasty retreat. He left the town about noon, to retreat the way he came, along the hilly road that wound through forests and thickets. The Patriots ran over the hills opposite the battlefield, and placed themselves in ambush near the junction of the Bedford road. There they were reinforced by men from all around, and at that point the chase of the British began.

DEATH OF ISAAC DAVIS.

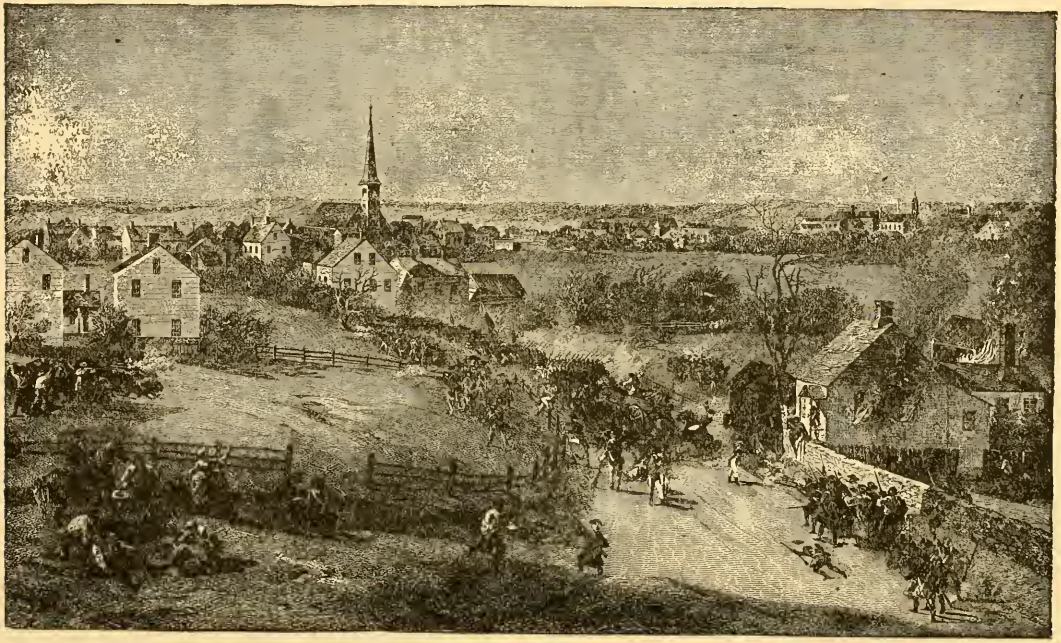
Every piece of wood, every rock by the wayside, served as a lurking place. Scarce ten of the Patriots were at any time seen together; yet the hills on each side seemed to the British to swarm with "rebels," as if they had dropped from the clouds, and "the road was lined" by an uninterrmitted fire from behind stone walls and trees.

At first the invaders moved in order; but as they drew near Lexington, their flanking parties became ineffective from weariness; the wounded were scarce able to get forward. In the west of Lexington a sharp contest ensued. The British troops, "greatly exhausted and fatigued, and having expended almost all their ammunition," began to run rather than retreat in order. The officers vainly tried to stop their flight. "They were driven before the Americans like sheep." At last, about two in the afternoon, about a mile below the field of the morning's bloodshed, the officers made their way to the front, and by menaces of death began to form them, under a very heavy fire.

At that moment Lord Percy came in sight with a brigade of nearly 1200 men, with two field-pieces. While the cannon kept the Patriots at bay, Percy formed his detachment into a square, inclosing the fugitives, who lay down for rest on the ground, "their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase."

From this time, the Patriots had to contend against nearly the whole of the British army in Boston. Its best troops, fully two-thirds of its whole number, and more than that proportion of its strength, were now with Percy. And yet delay was sure to prove ruinous. The British must fly speedily and fleetly, or be overwhelmed.

From far and wide Minute-men were gathering. The men of Dedham went forth in such numbers that scarce



RETREAT OF THE BRITISH FROM CONCORD.

one male between 16 and 70 was left at home. That morning William Prescott mustered his regiment; and though Pepperell was so remote that he could not be in season for the pursuit, he hastened down with five companies of guards. Before noon, a messenger rode at full speed into Worcester, crying, "To Arms!" A fresh horse was brought, and the tidings went on; while the men of that town kept on the march till they reached Cambridge.

Aware of his perilous position, Percy rested for half an hour, and renewed the retreat. He was exposed to a fire on each side, in front, and from behind. The Patriots, who were good marksmen, would lie down concealed to load their guns in one place, and discharge them at another, running from front to flank, and from flank to rear.

Beyond Lexington, the troops were attacked by men chiefly from Essex, and the lower towns. At West Cambridge, Joseph Warren and William Heath gave for a time some little appearance of organization, and the fight grew sharper and more determined. A musket-ball grazed the head of Warren, who was ever in the place of greatest danger. The British became more and more "exasperated," and indulged in savage cruelty. Of the Patriots there were never more than 400 together at any one time; but, as some grew tired or used up their ammunition, others took their places, and, though there was not much concert or discipline, and no attack with masses, the pursuit never flagged.

Below West Cambridge, the militia from Dorchester, Roxbury, and Brookline came up. The British field-pieces now lost their terror, and the patriots pressed upon the rear of the fugitives, whose retreat could not become more precipitate. Had it been delayed a half hour longer, or had Pickering, with his fine regiment from Salem, Danvers, and Marblehead, been alert to

TO ARMS! TO ARMS!

have intercepted them in front, it was thought that, worn down as they were by fatigue and exhausted of ammunition, they must have surrendered. But a little after sunset, the survivors escaped across Charlestown Neck.

The fighting had continued at its hottest for seven hours, and the result contributed to raise the spirits and confidence of the Patriots, and to depress the British. The news of what had been accomplished was carried by mounted messengers from town to town in every direction, so that in a remarkably short time the fact was known all over the land. The enthusiastic response it awakened was proof conclusive that the whole of the Colonies from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the western prairies, were ripe for revolt.

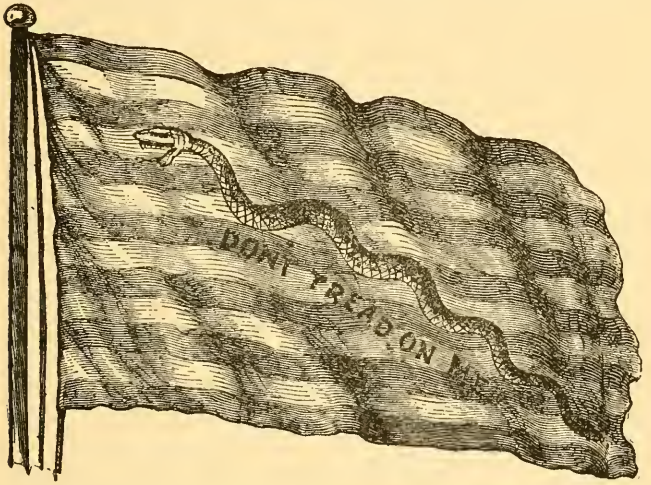
Percy's troops had marched 30 miles in ten hours; and the party under Smith had retreated 20 miles in six hours; the guns of the ships-of-war and a menace to burn the town of Charlestown saved them from annoyance during their rest on Bunker Hill and while they were ferried across Charles River.

The loss of the Patriots, exclusive of those already accounted as being killed at Lexington, in the morning, was 85 killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and missing was 273; greater than in the battle before Quebec, where Wolfe fell. Among the wounded were many officers.

All the following night, the men of Massachusetts streamed in from scores of miles around, old men as well as young. They had scarce a semblance of artillery or warlike stores, no powder, no organization, nor provisions; but they were there, thousands with brave hearts, determined to rescue the liberties of their country. "The night preceding the outrages at Lexington, there were not fifty people in the whole colony that ever expected any blood would be shed in the contest;" the

night after, the King's government and the King's army found themselves closely beleaguered in Boston; and the power of the royal governors was broken from Massachusetts to Georgia.

BUNKER'S HILL (June 17, 1775).—The Minute-men and the militiamen who had hurried to Boston, on receipt of the news from Lexington, had gradually



RATTLESNAKE FLAG, USED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION.

returned to their homes, and their places were filled with troops enlisted for terms of service, varying from three to twelve months in extent. It was "a mixed multitude," as yet, under very little discipline, order, or government. There were the materials for a good army in the private men, of whom great numbers were able-bodied, active, and unquestionably brave, and there were also officers worthy of

leading such men. There was a great want of money and of clothing, of engineers; but above all, of ammunition. The scanty store of powder was reserved for the small arms, and used with great frugality. Greene and Putnam worked like beavers; inciting the men and encouraging them. General Ward was placed in command. His age and infirmities combined to increase the caution which the state of the camp made imperative. He was unwilling to hazard defeat, and inclined to wait the solution of events from the negotiations of the Continental Congress. It was suggested that Cambridge could not be held, and that it would be wiser to go back and fortify on the heights of Brookline. "We must hold Cambridge," was Putnam's constant reply, and he repeatedly but vainly asked leave to advance the lines to Prospect Hill.

The dishonorable position which the King's army was compelled to occupy was galling. "Bloody work" was expected, and it was rumored that they were determined to lay the country waste with fire and sword. George III was counting the days necessary for the voyage of his transports that were to "disperse the rebels, destroy their works, open up a communication with the country, and imprison the leading patriots of the colony."

The Committee of Safety decided "that Bunker's Hill be maintained by sufficient force being posted there;" and accordingly on June 16, measures were taken to occupy and hold the hill. The regiments under Prescott, Frye, and Bridge, all of Massachusetts, and 200 Connecticut troops under Captain Knowlton, were ordered to parade on Cambridge Common, at six o'clock in the evening. With these were Captain Gridley's company of artillery of 49 men and two field-pieces. The men took their packs and blankets, with provisions for 24 hours, and the entrenching tools belonging to the

GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM.

camp. The character of the service they were to perform was not divulged even to the officers. At the appointed time nearly 1000 men appeared on the Common; and the command was assumed by Colonel William Prescott, to whom written orders had been given by General Ward.

Langdon, the president of Harvard College, who was one of the chaplains to the army, prayed with them fervently; then, as the late darkness closed in, they marched for Charlestown in the face of the proclamation, issued only four days before, by which all persons taken in arms against their sovereign, were threatened under martial law with "death by the cord as rebels and traitors." Prescott and his men were the first to give the menace defiance. For himself, he was resolved "never to be taken alive."

The *Committee* had recommended Bunker's Hill, but Prescott had "received orders to march to Breed's Hill, as being the more commanding site." Heedless of personal danger, he obeyed the orders, which better suited the daring spirits of his companions.

The lines of a redoubt, about eight rods square, were accordingly drawn on Breed's Hill, and work was begun. The bells of Boston struck twelve before the first sod was thrown up. Then every man of the thousand seized in his turn the pickaxe and the spade, and they plied their tools with such expedition, that rapidly and surely the breastwork "assumed form, and height, and capacity for defense."

The day was the hottest of the season. After their fatigues through the night, the Patriots might all have pleaded their unfitness for action; some, indeed, left the post. Yet Prescott was dismayed neither by fatigue nor desertion. "Let us never consent to being relieved," he said to his own regiment and to those who remained; "these are the works of our own hands; to us be the

THE DEFENCE OF BREED'S HILL: PRESCOTT IN THE REDOUBT.

honor of defending them." He despatched repeated messengers for reinforcements and provisions; but at the hour of noon no assistance had appeared.

About three o'clock the British troops advanced to the assault. They marched under cover of a heavy fire of cannon and howitzers. Howe was in command of the right wing, and it was arranged that he should attack the "rebels" in flank, while Pigot, who had the left wing, should assail the southern front of the redoubt. They moved slowly, in order that the artillery should produce full effect on the works; and in a little while Pigot found that his left flank was being severely galled by the Patriot riflemen posted in houses in Charlestown, which lay below the position of the insurgents. Howe therefore sent over orders to Clinton and Burgoyne, who remained on the Boston peninsula, to set fire to the village, which was done by the discharge of shells from Copp's Hill. The buildings in Charlestown, some 500 in number, were all constructed of wood, and the blaze of their ignition flared far and wide over the neighborhood and the surrounding country, attracting crowds of spectators, who assembled on the hills, on the roofs of the houses in Boston, on the tops of the church-towers, and on the masts of the shipping, to watch the grand but terrible spectacle.

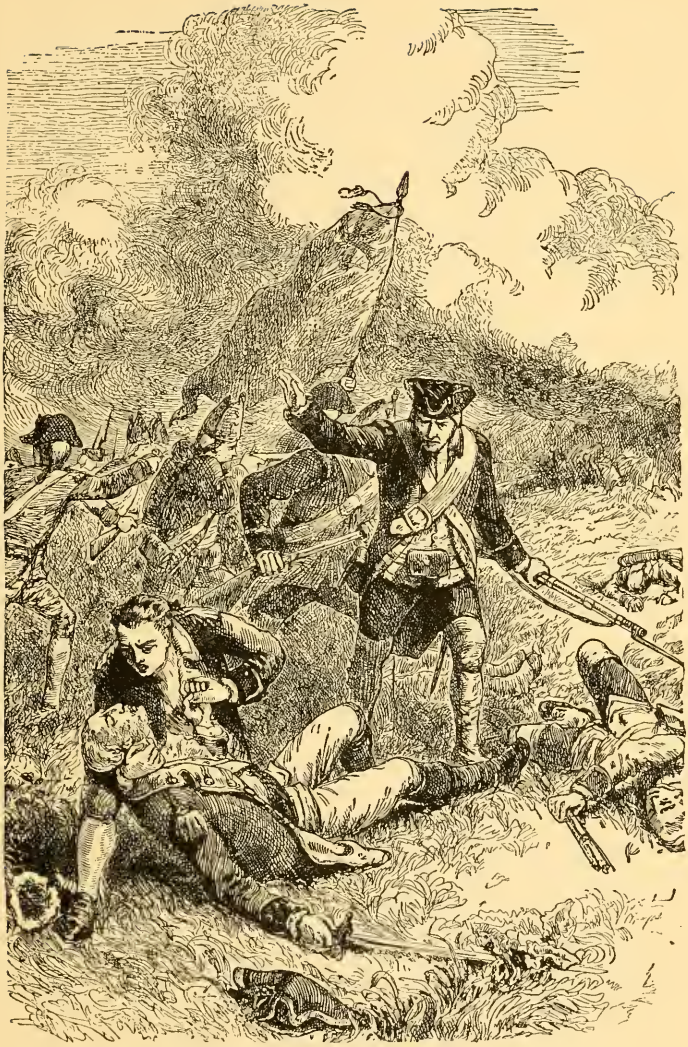
Howe's military dispositions were commended by Burgoyne as "soldier-like and perfect;" and he was well seconded by his men. The troops under Pigot ascended the rising ground towards the redoubt steadily and in good order. The fire of their small arms did little damage, as they aimed too high and began too soon; and Prescott ordered his men to reserve their return volley until "the whites of the men's eyes could be seen." When he thought the British near enough, he exclaimed "Fire!"—and volley after volley was poured into their ranks, causing them to fly in disorder

to their boats. They soon rallied; but the Patriots fired again and again, loading under cover, and springing up on the wall of the redoubt to deliver their shots. These rapid volleys were replied to by the regulars with spirit, and a fierce combat went on for ten minutes. The Patriots determined to sustain the reputation for courage which they had won at Concord, and delivered their fire with the same deadly effect. After awhile, the British line wavered and gave way; the whole mass staggering in disorderly heaps down the side of the hill, and crowding tumultuously on the shore, close to the landing-place.

Meanwhile, the column under Howe was attacking the spur of the redoubt that ran north towards the Mystic and presented its face to the east. Having arrived within eighty yards of the rail fence, the troops deployed into line with coolness and precision. The Patriots under the command of Stark and Knowlton reserved their fire with the same quiet self-restraint that their comrades at the chief redoubt had shown. Resting their guns on the rail in front of them, they discharged, at the proper moment, a heavy volley, from which the British, as at the other position, recoiled in disorder until they reached such shelter as they could find. In about a quarter of an hour, the detachment under Pigot was again ready to advance against the south face of the redoubt. The men had been rallied by their officers, who were seen pushing them forward at the sword's point. They advanced the second time with some reluctance, but, getting within musket-shot, pressed on with spirit. The Patriot volley, delivered this time at still closer quarters than before, was afterwards described by Prescott as like a "continuous stream of fire;" and it produced a terrible effect on the British. Again they wavered and broke. The bottom of the hill was once more sought in headlong flight;

yet the wall of the redoubt had been very nearly gained; some of the dead and dying lay within a few yards of it.

A second advance was made against the flank by Howe's division. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry marched close up to the fence, but were unable to carry it. Some of the companies lost as many as nine-tenths of their numbers as soon as they presented themselves. In several instances, not more than three or four men were left in a company, so terrible was the fire. The dead, as Colonel Stark testified, "lay as thick as sheep within a fold." So many of the officers were killed, that for a while Howe was left nearly alone; yet the struggle was maintained. The guns of the ships in the harbor, and the artillery of the batteries planted on the opposite shore, continued to ply with vigor; but towards the end of the action the field-pieces were reduced to silence for want of ammunition, and the infantry were left to do their work without the aid which field artillery would have afforded them. The Patriot ammunition also was very nearly exhausted after the defeat of the second attack. The Committee of Safety insisted that every shot ought to kill a man, and that a lavish supply of powder would only tempt the men to neglect accuracy of aim, and thus throw away their fire. They had therefore omitted to furnish fresh supplies, and, although there had been no waste, the stock was now almost at an end. They had but few bayonets among them, and the chances of a third assault looked unpromising for the Patriots. The powder in some artillery cartridges was distributed, and injunctions given not to waste a grain of it. Prescott hoped that, if the British could be repulsed a third time, their rout would be final and complete. Howe was resolved not to be beaten, and he made a fresh disposition of his forces, so as to deliver a simultaneous attack on three sides of the position. He was enabled to do this by an unex-



DEATH OF MAJOR PITCAIRN. 37

pected arrival of reinforcements. Clinton, having observed from Copp's Hill the very critical posture of affairs, had, on his own authority, started for the scene of action at the head of two battalions, including a body of marines. The whole force was now divided between the south, the east, and the north sides of the entrenchment; and the three divisions moved forward to the supreme effort.

The Patriots had retired to the inner part of the fort, the outer lines being raked by the batteries. Once again they waited with calm self-possession the near approach of the enemy; then, as before, a terrific fire leaped forth with that concentration and regularity which made them the best marksmen in the world. But this time, after a momentary pause, the British, instead of giving way, sprang forward, without any return volley, to the outer wall. The Patriot fire grew less and less, and presently almost ceased. On the southern side of the redoubt, the front rank of the assailing force scaled the parapet with a rush. Many were shot down; among them, Major Pitcairn, the officer associated with Lexington, who fell mortally wounded. But the regulars, now that they had surmounted the breastwork, rushed on with impetuosity. Driven to desperation, and devoid of ammunition, the colonists clubbed their muskets, and struck wildly at the foe, who pressed on, and carried the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The superiority of the British in numbers was so great, that at four o'clock, Prescott was compelled to order a retreat, and the Patriots fled from the position they had so long and gallantly defended, and made in the direction of Bunker's Hill. "Nothing," wrote a British officer, "could be more shocking than the carnage that followed the storming of this work. We tumbled over the dead to get at the living, who were crowding out of the gorge of the redoubt in order to form under the

BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL. 39

defenses which they had prepared to cover their retreat." Prescott was the last to leave the fort. Though his coat and waistcoat were rent with bayonet-thrusts, which he parried with his sword, he got off unhurt. The British had burst in, and for a few minutes the redoubt was a mob of raging combatants, wildly intermingled. But the Patriots fought their way out, and escaped under a cloud of dust which their trampling feet beat up from the parched and pulverized soil. Their retreat was aided by the obstinacy with which the Connecticut and New Hampshire companies, under Knowlton and Stark, held the outlying defense in the direction of the Mystic. As soon as the main body had left Breed's Hill, these auxiliaries also retired. Utterly worn out by the events of the day—by their two unsuccessful attempts to carry the enemy's entrenchments, and their final success—the British could do no more than make a show of pursuit; but the fugitives suffered severely, in passing Charlestown Neck, from the cross-fire of two floating batteries and a man-of-war. Of six pieces of artillery, the Patriots were able to carry off but one. The loss was but slight, considering the length and vehemence of the contest. It is set down at 145 killed and missing, and 304 wounded. Among the killed was Joseph Warren, one of the most active and distinguished of the Patriots. He was among the last in the trenches, and fell, shot through the head, as the retreat began. The Congress of Massachusetts expressed the sense of the whole country, when it declared its "veneration for Joseph Warren, whose memory is endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among men."

The cost of the battle on the side of the British was very serious. More than a third of the forces engaged were slain or disabled. The killed were above 220 in

number; the wounded, more than 820. Gage, in his report of the event, made some observations that must have opened the eyes of English statesmen to the serious nature of the task they had undertaken. He wrote:— "The success, which was very necessary in our present

GENERAL GAGE.

condition, cost us dear. The number of killed and wounded is greater than our forces can afford to lose. We have lost some extremely good officers. The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be, and I find it owing to a military spirit encouraged among them for a

few years past, joined with uncommon zeal and enthusiasm. They entrench, and raise batteries; they have engineers. They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, which it is not impossible for them to annoy. The conquest of this country is not easy; you have to cope with vast numbers. In all their wars against the French, they never showed so much conduct, attention, and perseverance, as they do now. I think it my duty to let you know the true situation of affairs."

The retreat was no worse than such movements commonly are; it was better than some in which disciplined troops have been concerned. The fugitives were met by Putnam on the northern side of Bunker's Hill. He had been trying to collect reinforcements, and now assumed the command of the discomfited regiments. Uniting them with a detachment of fresh troops, he encamped for the night on Prospect Hill.

The British forces entrenched themselves, on the night of June 17, at the summit of Breed's Hill, lying down on the ground they had conquered. Their victory was one of a very barren nature. They were unable to continue the pursuit beyond the isthmus. They had brought their best forces into the field; more than a third of those engaged lay dead or bleeding, and the survivors were fatigued and overawed by the courage of their adversaries. The battle put an end to all offensive operations on the part of Gage.

Though termed a defeat in military language, it had all the effect of a great moral victory. From it the Patriots acquired self-confidence and self-reliance. They convinced their adversaries that they could fight; and to the nations of Europe they presented the spectacle of a united people, resolved to establish their independence at whatever cost of bloodshed. Franklin, on hearing of the event, wrote to his friends in England that Great Britain has lost her colonies for ever.

SIEGE OF BOSTON (April 19, 1775, to March 17, 1776). At the very same time that the forces of New England were withstanding British troops in the vicinity of Boston, the Continental Congress was engaged in nominating four Major-Generals to act under Washington in command of the regiments that were to be raised by the whole of the provinces. The first of these was Artemas Ward, who, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, answered, "I always have been and am still ready to devote my life in attempting to deliver my native country." The second was Charles Lee, an officer in the Royal army who quitted England because preferment had been denied to him. He had seen service in Portugal, Poland, and Turkey; nevertheless he was an unfortunate selection. He was a man of ambitious desires and jealous disposition, gloomy and irritable, and too prone to aristocratic and despotic ideas in politics to work harmoniously with the democratic institutions then taking shape here. The third was Philip Schuyler of New York; a man of great consideration in his own province, of high character, and unquestioned patriotism; yet in some respects unsuited to military command. Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, was the fourth selection. He was famous for deeds of personal prowess; and his acknowledged courage, adventurous life, and ardent support of the rights of the colonies had made him very popular with the people.

Horatio Gates was made an Adjutant-General with the rank of Brigadier. He had served in the British army. Besides these, eight brigadier-generals were appointed: Seth Pomroy, of Massachusetts; Richard Montgomery, of New York; David Wooster, of Connecticut; William Heath, of Massachusetts; Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut; John Thomas, of Massachusetts; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; and

Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island: all, with one exception, men of New England birth. Montgomery was an Irishman.

Washington quitted Philadelphia June 23, 1775, and on July 2 reached the camp before Boston, where his great organizing genius was exercised in getting into form and consistency the chaotic mass of raw material of which the Patriot army consisted.

The opposing armies were encamped very near one another. The British occupied not only Boston, but the whole of Charlestown peninsula, their sentries extending a short distance beyond the Neck. Redoubts and batteries were scattered about, and 7000 highly disciplined and seasoned troops stood prepared for any further action. The Patriots were posted in a semi-circle from the west end of Dorchester to Malden, a distance of nine miles. The centre of the line was at Cambridge, where Ward commanded; and all about the little towns, and country ways, and steep passes between hill and hill, were defensive works, contrived with great tact. Some of the men were lodged in tents; others in huts, made of boards, sailcloth, turf, brushwood, reeds, or anything that came to hand; others, again, in regular dwelling-houses.

The men were kept at labor even on Sundays, strengthening the lines, and fortifying weak places. These engineering works were planned and executed by Henry Knox, of Boston, who had been appointed to the command of a battalion of artillery, and who in time introduced so much improvement into the American ordnance, that some of the best judges in Europe expressed their admiration of his genius. The whole number of effectives under Washington were about 14,000. Of these many were very inferior soldiers; but altogether, the force when organized promised well for the future of the colonies. There was

a deal of excellent material; and it only needed educating and the stern rigors of command.

As winter wore on, the difficulties of Washington increased; for his army was still raw and undisciplined, his resources grew less with the growing demands on them, and the distracted counsels of his sub-

GENERAL WILLIAM HOWE.

ordinates were more than ever bewildering and vexatious. He had obtained some guns and a stock of powder, and would have advanced over the ice to Boston, or approached it in boats, if he could have gained the co-operation of his officers; but, finding his project was not supported, he was obliged to content

himself with watching the enemy and maturing plans for the future. The British commanders were expecting reinforcements, and contemplating a removal to New York when they should receive them. Washington resolved to furnish his opponents with employment of a serious character; and he now conceived the design of occupying Dorchester Heights, a line of hills stretching along a peninsula to the south of Boston, the possession of which would give him the command of the city, and to some extent of the harbor. He hoped in this way to bring on a general action, by compelling Howe to attempt his expulsion from a position of so important a nature; and it was part of his design to take advantage of the struggle to cross with a portion of his forces from the Cambridge side of the river Charles, and attack Boston itself. The Patriot army now amounted to 14,000 men, reckoning those who were regarded as regular troops; and, in addition to these, Washington had called into active service about 6000 of the Massachusetts militia. The available forces under Howe were about 8000 men. Boston was literally a trap to the British forces confined there, and Howe was anxious for the moment when he could quit the locality and gain the more loyal province of New York, whence operations could be conducted with greater prospect of success.

Washington opened proceedings on March 5th, the anniversary of "the Boston Massacre." On the nights of March 2d, 3d, and 4th, he bombarded the British lines, as a means of diverting attention from his real object. During the night of the 4th, under cover of darkness, and of the cannonade which was vigorously kept up from several points, and as warmly replied to by the British, though without much effect on either side, Washington moved towards the high ground which he proposed to occupy. His dispositions had been made

with great skill, and every man beforehand was thoroughly instructed in his work. The troops were accompanied by carts with trenching tools, and bundles of screwed hay were sent over the frozen marshes, to be used in the construction of works of defense in default of earth, which could not be obtained owing to the frozen state of the ground. The unceasing roar of the great guns, and the whizzing of shells as they cut their way through the dark and frozen air, drowned the noise of Washington's troops moving from the vicinity of Cambridge to that of Dorchester. This great advantage was obtained at a cost of but two men, and of the bursting of five mortars. Having gained the Heights, the Patriots worked with unflinching assiduity, and the teams of bullock-wagons went to and fro, bringing up fresh supplies for the works. At three o'clock on the morning of the 5th, the first working party was relieved; and by dawn, when at length the bombardment ceased, a formidable line of fortifications was apparent to the astonished eyes of Howe and his army. On each of the two hills where Washington had taken his station, strong redoubts had been run up; the foot of the ridge was protected by an *abatis* of felled trees; and at the top were several barrels filled with earth and stones, which could be rolled down on the advancing lines.

Howe exclaimed that the besiegers had done more in a night than his men would have accomplished in a month. He resolved, by the advice of a council of war, to attack the enemy at once. Admiral Shuldham, who commanded the fleet, declared that unless the New Englanders were dislodged he could not keep a ship in the harbor. Howe was encouraged in his determination to assault the lines (hazardous as he confessed the enterprise to be) by the ardor of his troops, who, as he reported, were eager to try conclusions with a foe they had already vanquished, though with difficulty, on

Breed's Hill. Under the direction of Earl Percy 2400 men were placed. The Patriots seeing what was designed, were animated with the hope of inflicting a severe defeat on their adversaries. Washington exclaimed to those about him, "Remember the 5th of March! Avenge the death of your brethren!" Percy delayed scaling the heights until nightfall, and in the afternoon a violent storm of wind arose, which continued during the night, and, on the morning of the 6th rain fell in torrents and prevented any attempts being made. A council of war was held by Howe, and it was agreed that it was now impossible to expel the Patriots from their position, and that the speedy evacuation of Boston had become a necessity. He found himself out-generalled by an officer whom he regarded as a mere amateur in the art of war.

Early in the morning of March 17th, it was seen that a breastwork had been constructed during the night on Nook's Hill, a part of the Dorchester range which commands Boston Neck and the southern quarter of the town, and as any further delay would have been highly dangerous, it was resolved to move as soon as possible. The adherents of the Royal cause were offered a passage to Nova Scotia; but the prospect of exile to such dreary lands seemed more wretched and alarming than the expected ill-usage of the victorious Patriots. There was no time to come to terms with the enemy as to their future condition, and several were left to their fate.

At four o'clock on the morning of March 18th, the British army, accompanied by about 2000 of their loyal sympathizers, began to embark, and before ten they were all on board the 120 transports, and under way, so great was the despatch. Ere leaving, they dismantled, and in part demolished, the fort called Castle William; but the barracks were left as they stood, with a large

quantity of cannon and ammunition, which proved of the greatest service to Washington. Howe neglected to give information to ships from England that the town was now in the hands of the rebels, and several English store-ships, containing munitions of war, sailed into the harbor and were seized by the Patriots; and one vessel conveying 700 troops shared the same fate. The remaining royalists of Boston were brought to trial, found guilty, and their effects were confiscated and turned to the benefit of the cause.

As the rear-guard of the British army quitted Boston, the Patriot vanguard under Putnam marched in. They found marks of hasty flight everywhere; for the enemy had left behind him, not merely guns and gunpowder, but large quantities of wheat, barley, and oats, a hundred and fifty cavalry horses, and bedding and clothing for soldiers. Washington entered Boston on the 19th, and the main body of the army followed on the 20th. Six of his best regiments were at once despatched to New York, and preparations were made to repel any possible attack on Boston itself.

Thus ended the "siege of Boston;" and Washington sought in the neighborhood of New York additional strength for the cause of his country.

Bancroft says: "Never was so great a result obtained at so small a cost of human life. The putting of the British army to flight was the first decisive victory of the industrious middling class over the most powerful representatives of mediæval aristocracy; and the whole number of New England men killed in the siege after Washington took the command was less than twenty; the liberation of New England cost altogether less than 200 lives in battle; and the triumphant general, as he looked around, enjoyed the serenest delight, for he saw no mourners among those who greeted his entry after his bloodless victory."

CHAPTER II.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point (May 10, 1775).

While passing through Hartford, on April 29, 1775, the "arch rebels," Samuel Adams and John Hancock, secretly met the Governor and Council, to settle the details of an expedition to surprise Ticonderoga. The plan had originated with the Green Mountain Boys—a body of active Patriots recently formed in Vermont, from the name of which colony they took their name. Ethan Allen—a man who had formerly been outlawed by the government of New York for encouraging the people of Vermont to assert their independence of that province—was to be one of the leaders of the attack, and Connecticut was to furnish the necessary funds.

A few men were got together in Massachusetts, and word was quickly spread through the hills of Vermont that the attempt was forthwith to be made. 100 of the Green Mountain Boys joined the volunteers from Massachusetts on May 7th, and elected Ethan Allen as their chief, in spite of a commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, which conferred the command on Benedict Arnold. On the following day, the party began their march. Near Orwell, which was reached late on the 9th, a few boats were discovered, and 83 men crossed the narrow waters between Lakes George and Champlain, and, guided by a farmer's son, who was well acquainted with the fort and its vicinity, landed not far from the position. As several of the men were thus

left behind, the boats were sent back to bring up the rest; but it was found impossible to wait for them, lest the expedition should be discovered, and the advantages

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

of a surprise be missed. In the early morning of the 10th, Allen drew up his men in three ranks on the slopes of the high ground, and thus addressed them: "Friends and fellow-soldiers, we must this morning quit

our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress; and, inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, I do not urge it on, contrary to will. You that will under-

SAMUEL ADAMS, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

take it voluntarily, poise your firelock." Not a man hung back, every firelock was poised, and Allen then led his little band up to the gate of the fortress. Through

the wicket, which was open, the Patriots rushed into the enclosure with a cry as of Indians, and formed on the parade in such a way as to face each of the barracks. After a slight skirmish with cutlasses, one of the sentries, who had been slightly wounded, surrendered himself, and volunteered to show the way to the apartment of the commandant, Delaplace. "Come forth instantly, or I will sacrifice the whole garrison!" cried Ethan Allen, as he reached the door. On being summoned to come forth, that officer presented himself half-dressed, and with his breeches in his hand, having had no time to dress, he asked Allen by what authority he demanded a surrender, and was answered, "*In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!*" The "Continental Congress" did not meet for organization until six hours afterwards, and its "authority" was yet scarcely recognized, even by the Patriots in the field. Delaplace remonstrated, but Allen interrupted him, and, with his drawn sword over his head, again demanded the surrender of the garrison, with which he complied, and ordered his men to be paraded without arms, for that purpose.

Thus Ticonderoga, which cost the British nation forty millions of dollars, a succession of campaigns, and many lives, was won in ten minutes by a few undisciplined volunteers, without the loss of life or limb.

With the fortress were taken nearly 50 prisoners, who were sent to Connecticut; and they gained one thirteen-inch mortar, more than 100 pieces of cannon, and a number of swivels, stores, and small arms.

Flushed with their sudden success, and strangers to discipline, the Green Mountain Boys at once proceeded to plunder and destroy private property, and to commit other outrages. Against all this Arnold earnestly remonstrated, when he was reminded that he was a commander only by courtesy, and his authority was openly denied.

On the next day (May 12, 1775,) a party of men under Seth Warner took possession of Crown Point, which, with its garrison of 12 men, surrendered upon the first summons. 111 pieces of artillery, of various

GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

sizes and conditions, were added to the trophies of the expedition.

Another party, acting under Arnold's orders, succeeded in making a prisoner of Skene, a dangerous British agent, and his Tory retainers, and in getting pos-

session of Skenesborough, now known as Whitehall. They also captured a small schooner, with which they sailed down the lake. Arnold, with 50 of his men, armed the schooner, and proceeded with her to St. John's, on the Sorel River, where the King's sloop-of-war, "The George III," mounting 16 guns, and a supply of provisions, was known to be.

About the same time, desiring to share the honor which he saw awaited Arnold's expedition, Allen, with 60 men, embarked in bateaux also for St. John's.

Arnold approached the fort at St. John's, which he surprised, taking the garrison prisoners; seized the sloop, which was laden with prisoners, and awaited a fair wind for Ticonderoga; captured four bateaux, and destroyed five others; removed a portion of the stores from the fort, and, with his prisoners, re-embarked for Ticonderoga.

Arnold, laden with his spoils, met Allen about 15 miles above St. John's. The latter went on board Arnold's sloop, and received information of the situation of St. John's, and some provisions, and, contrary to Arnold's advice, determined to proceed to St. John's and take possession of the fort. The enemy had been reinforced and he met an attack from 200 men, with six field-pieces. He made no resistance but took to his boats and returned to Ticonderoga, with the loss of three men taken prisoners.

Thus, in a few days, a handful of undisciplined men, with small-arms only, and without a single bayonet, in a series of bold exploits, and without the loss or serious injury of a man, had secured artillery and stores for the infant cause of freedom, and secured the great highway leading to His Majesty's Canadian dominions.

CHAPTER III.

In and Around New York.

The British sailed away from Boston on March 18, 1776. On the fourth day of July, following, the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. This act was a formal separation of the United Colonies from England. It was signed by 56 representatives of the Old 13 States, from New Hampshire to Georgia. It was read at the head of the army, proclaimed in all the States, and received by the people everywhere with great joy.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British, Washington and his army moved towards New York City, and prepared for its defense, believing that would be the next point that Howe would seek to occupy. The most numerous supporters of the British connection were there; the eastern counties containing a very considerable party opposed to the designs of the revolutionists. The proximity of a powerful fleet gave confidence to these royalists. The passage to the city, both by the East and North Rivers, had been defended by strong entrenchments, by chains, and sunken vessels, and other obstructions.

Howe arrived from Halifax on June 28—the remainder of the fleet following within a week—and established his headquarters at Staten Island, opposite New York. Washington had under his command about 11,000 men,

of whom 2000 had no arms at all, while others were but poorly furnished. This force was quite inadequate to the work required of it; but Washington repelled all promptings of despondency. His military position in July, 1776, was decidedly grave; but he confronted the dangers of the time with that unruffled serenity which was one of his finest characteristics.

Howe's reinforcements arrived about the middle of August. He had been joined by detachments under Clinton and Cornwallis; by several regiments from England, the West Indies, and the Floridas; and by a number of "Hessians." Of these mercenaries, the Landgrave of Hesse furnished 12,000, while 5000 were supplied by the Duke of Brunswick and other petty sovereigns. A more cold-blooded contract was never signed. To England it was discreditable; to the German Powers concerned it was disgraceful.

Howe had under his orders nearly 30,000 men, and the assistance of a powerful fleet, which was peculiarly serviceable in operations against a city like New York, capable of being approached by water from several directions.

Long Island.—The Patriots were posted partly in New York and partly on Long Island. The command on the island was in the hands of General Greene—an officer of great ability, unimpeachable courage, and much zeal; but he was unfortunately stricken with a raging fever at the very time when his judgment and vigor was most needed. General Sullivan was appointed to fill his place.

On August 22, 1776, under cover of a sharp fire from the fleet, Howe crossed over from Staten Island, on the west, to Long Island, on the east. On the 27th, the battle of Long Island was fought near Brooklyn. The Patriots were defeated, and Washington withdrew his

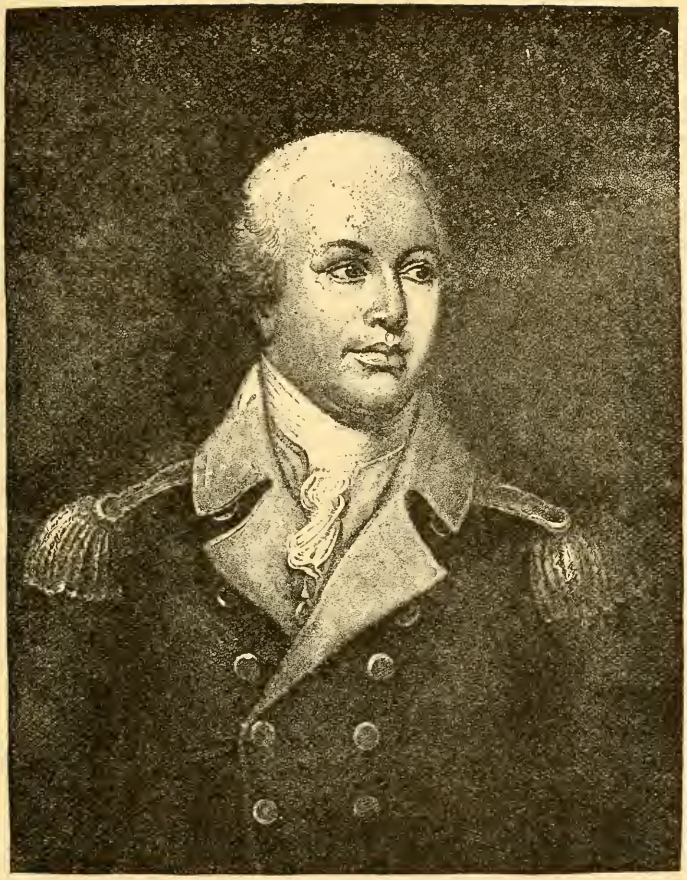
READING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE ARMY.

troops from Brooklyn, leaving the whole of Long Island in the hands of the British. Washington made a stand at Harlem Heights, in the northern part of the city, but as he was not strong enough to hold New York, it was soon evacuated. Fort Washington, above New York, with 2700 prisoners of war, was next captured by the British on November 16, 1776. Washington who was near enough to the attack to view several parts of it, cried like a child at seeing so many of his soldiers bayoneted.

GENERAL SULLIVAN.

The battle was, in reality, a series of skirmishes. The entire strength of the Patriots did not exceed 5000 men, while that of the enemy was not less than 15,000. The loss of the Patriots in killed, wounded, and prisoners was nearly 1200 men, more than 1000 of whom were held as prisoners in the enemy's camp. The British loss in killed, wounded and prisoners was 365 men.

Howe acted with more vigor and promptitude than he generally displayed, and his success was quickly followed up. He attacked Fort Lee, on the New Jersey side of the river, nearly opposite Fort Washington, and compelled its evacuation. Greene, who commanded at the fort, escaped with the main body of the garrison; but the heavy artillery and the baggage fell into the hands of the British.



GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE. 61

Washington now dreaded an advance on Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was assembled. Closely pursued by Cornwallis, he fell back from town to town, and ultimately reached Trenton, where he crossed the Delaware, taking up a favorable post on the western or Pennsylvania shore. Of men fit for duty, he had now no more than 3000, and his situation was so desperate that, while on the march, he had written earnest letters to the Governor of New Jersey and to Congress, soliciting reinforcements. Cornwallis made no attempt to cross the river, but, in order to secure the possession of New Jersey, formed a chain of cantonments at Pennington, Trenton, Bordentown, and Burlington.

CHAPTER IV.

The Expeditions Against Canada (1775–1776).

Canada, in the early days of the Revolution, lay open to the influences of both antagonists. It was in military possession of the British; but the Patriots were not inclined to let it rest in that state, and considered that it might be made subservient to the general cause. On June 27, 1775, General Philip Schuyler was instructed to proceed without delay to Ticonderoga, thence to advance on Canada, and to take possession of St. John's and Montreal.

Following out the instructions which he had received from Congress, Schuyler caused a number of boats to be built at Ticonderoga for the transport of his troops into the dominion of Quebec. He sent an emissary across the border, to collect information as to the state of the country and the disposition of the people; and this agent, on his return about the middle of August, 1775, reported that the inhabitants were friendly, that the regular troops in the country were not above 700, and that the militia, which were of British origin, refused to serve under French officers. The account thus given was too sanguine; but in some matters it was correct, and it encouraged Schuyler to push on his preparations with great energy. He had for his second in command the enthusiastic and daring Irishman, Richard Montgomery, formerly an officer

in the British army, who, settling in New York, had become thoroughly imbued with American ideas, and was made a Major-General in the Patriot army.

On his arrival at Ticonderoga, he was left for a time at the head of the forces there, Schuyler taking the opportunity to depart for Saratoga, that he might enter into negotiations with the Indians. This caused some delay in the starting of the expedition; but at length Montgomery, fearing that the neighboring waters might be occupied by British vessels if he stayed too long, determined to advance on his own authority at the head of 1000 men. By September 3 he had arrived at Isle La Motte, on Lake Champlain, and on the following day he was joined by Schuyler, with whom he proceeded farther into the country. On the 6th the two commanders were at St. John's, and, in marching towards the castle, had a trifling encounter with a party of Indians. Schuyler proposed to a council of war to retreat to Isle aux Noix, which he had occupied two or three days before. The suggestion was adopted, and the backward movement performed. Montgomery, seeing the necessity of a more vigorous rule, induced Schuyler to abandon the active command, and embark for Ticonderoga, leaving the chief direction in his hands.

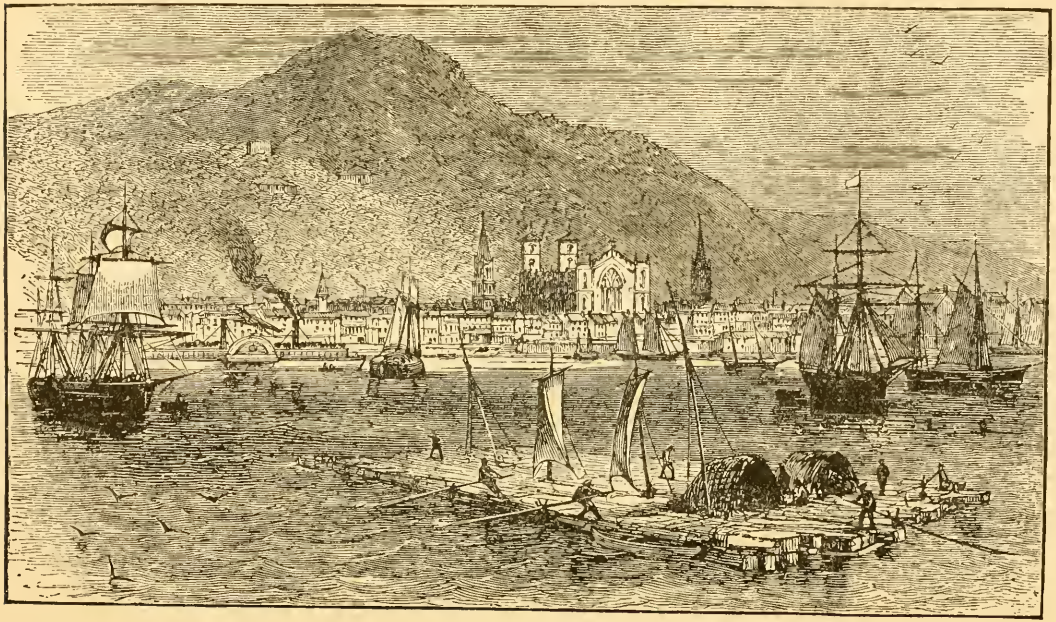
St. John's was now invested with vigor. Montgomery received frequent additions to his forces, and Schuyler, proving himself a good commissariat officer, however poor a general, kept them well supplied with food. A siege could not be actively prosecuted for want of powder; but the fortress was surrounded, and effectually cut off from succor. Ethan Allen was one of the officers under Montgomery. He was despatched to Chambly, to raise a corps of Canadians, and, having recruited a certain number of men, he was persuaded by them to attempt the surprise of Montreal,

GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

which he thought might be as easy a feat as that which, by a happy stroke, he had been able to accomplish on the morning of the 10th of May. Accordingly, at the head of eighty Canadians and thirty Anglo-Americans, he started on the night of September 24, from Longueil, and proceeded to Long Point. Some reinforcements which he expected were not forthcoming; retreat was by this time impossible; and Allen had no alternative but to withstand as well as he could the attack which was speedily made upon him. Some 500 men, consisting of regulars, Canadians, Indians, and English civilians, assaulted his position, which he defended with considerable gallantry for nearly two hours. He was then compelled to surrender, with all his men who could not escape. Heavily ironed, he was sent to England, where he was imprisoned for a short time, and then carried back to America, while the others, shackled together in pairs, were sent to labor in transports on the St. Lawrence, that "they might learn for the future not to attempt the impossible."

The easy defeat of Allen must have tended to cheer the spirits of Carleton, the British Governor, who had been taking a very gloomy view of the state of affairs. The British troops under his orders were a mere handful, and he wrote to the commander at Boston that Canada was on the eve of being overrun and subdued.

Carleton endeavored to augment his forces by enlisting Canadians and Indians; but the former deserted in squads. The savages would probably have been excited to vigorous action, had Carleton consented to let them loose on the rebel provinces; but this he refused, because of the atrocities which he knew would be committed. The Indians of the Six Nations wished to make an immediate attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but the proposal was rejected. Carleton was therefore compelled to remain on the defensive; and the Patriots,



MONTREAL.

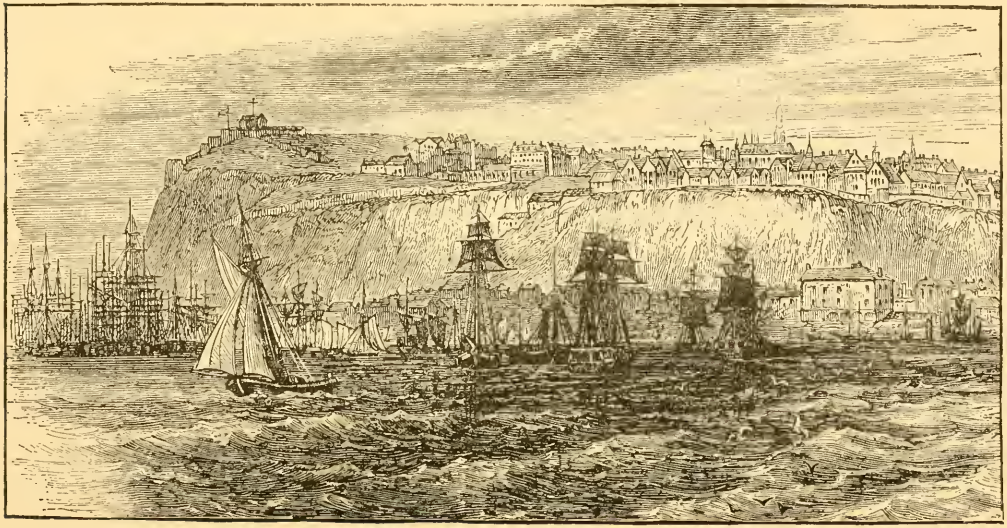
turning his inaction to their own advantage, laid siege to the fort of Chambly, which, after an attack of about 36 hours' duration, surrendered on October 18. Seventeen cannon and six tons of powder fell to the lot of the Patriots, and enabled them to proceed against St. John's with more effect. Carleton endeavored to raise the siege; but his force was driven back in attempting to cross the St. Lawrence, and his subordinate, Colonel Allan Maclean, with whom he had been trying to form a junction, retired to Quebec. The fort of St. John's surrendered on November 3, and the garrison of 600 men marched out with the honors of war. The situation appeared to Carleton so desperate that he determined to abandon Montreal; and on November 11, he embarked, with 100 regulars and Canadians, on board some small vessels in the port, and set sail for Quebec. Finding that his passage of the river was likely to be disputed, he disguised himself, on the night of the 16th, in the dress of a fisherman, entered a whale-boat, and was paddled with muffled oars down the island-studded current to Quebec, which he reached on the 19th. The day after he had left Montreal, that city surrendered without opposition to Montgomery, who straightway issued a proclamation to the Canadians, urging them to elect representatives to the Continental Congress, and unite themselves with the Federation of the South.

The chief struggle was to take place before Quebec, against which city Washington directed a large force under the command of Benedict Arnold. He had been a trader, but had joined the army, for which he had great natural aptitude, being courageous, enterprising, and intelligent. The army placed under his command consisted of ten companies of New England infantry, one of riflemen from Virginia, and two from Pennsylvania, amounting altogether to about 1100 men. This force left the camp before Boston on the evening of Sep-

tember 13, and pushed on northwards with as much rapidity as the nature of the ground permitted. Their route, as soon as they had got into Maine, lay through a woody and almost desert country, and, for a portion of the way, up the Kennebec. This river they ascended in small boats, working against the current, which flowed with such extraordinary force as frequently to compel the men to wade up to their waists in water, hauling their boats after them, or carrying them on their backs round cataracts, over crags, and across morasses. Arnold wrote to Washington that you might have mistaken his troops for amphibious animals. On quitting the Kennebec, the road lay through dense and gloomy forests, where the companies would probably have been lost, had not an exploring party of seven men, who had been sent in advance, indicated the proper route by "blazing" the trees (that is, cutting white marks on them by the removal of the bark) and lopping the bushes. Then again they came to a region of swamps, overgrown with brambles and white moss, into which the soldiers often sank knee-deep. This dismal country is that which extends between the Kennebec and the Dead River. The latter stream was reached by Arnold on October 13, a month after the starting of the expedition, and by the main body of the army two days later. Following its course, they traversed a distance of 83 miles, passing seventeen falls, and having to encounter a series of ponds, choked with the trunks of trees. Thus, after many more days of toil, they reached the carrying-place to the Chaudière. But the labors and sufferings of the troops were not yet over; and the men were now disheartened by hearing of the defection of Roger Enos, the second in command, who had returned to Cambridge, together with his three companies, forming the rear-guard of the army.

Notwithstanding this depressing intelligence, the main

body struggled on, though sickness had now set in, and many deserted their colors. November was close at hand; winter had already begun; the cold was intense, and the men were ill-prepared to meet it. Their clothes had become so torn by the briary woods through which they had passed that they were almost naked; some went barefoot for many days. Tempests of icy rain whistled about them, and at night they had no other covering than branches of evergreens. Each division had taken with it food for 45 days; but this had now run out. During the latter part of the march, several dogs were killed and eaten, and leather, soaked in water, was not disdained as a last resource in the agonies of famine. Many of the unfortunate soldiers died of cold and hunger, and no prospect of relief was in sight. In descending the Chaudière, which courses rapidly through a rocky channel, three of the boats were upset, and a quantity of ammunition and stores was lost. On November 2, those weary and starving men were delighted at seeing some French Canadians driving before them five oxen; and on the 4th they descried a house, which was the first they had seen for 31 days. They had by this time advanced into a cultivated and inhabited country, and the extremity of their sufferings was at an end. Their emergence from the wilderness astonished the Canadians, who had long regarded that dreary tract of country as impenetrable. With re-animated spirits they marched on towards Quebec; but their approach was already known in the city. Some of Arnold's communications to the Canadians, which were to have been distributed by friendly Indians, had been intercepted, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec lost no time in strengthening the walls and augmenting the defences. The capital of Canada was therefore, by the second week of November, in a good position to meet the expected attack.



QUEBEC.

Point Levi, lying on the St. Lawrence, south of the Isle of Orleans, and opposite to Quebec, was reached by Arnold on November 10, but he was unable to cross at once, as all the boats had been removed. He therefore set to work collecting canoes and making ladders; and on the 13th, at nine o'clock in the evening, he began his embarkation. Not more than 30 canoes were in his possession, and it was found necessary to cross the river three times to carry over the bulk of the army. The darkness of night favored the operation, and Arnold and his men arrived undiscovered at Wolfe's Cove. 150 soldiers had been left at Point Levi, and the number who now stood beneath the Heights of Abraham was about 700 men. Success, under the circumstances of the case, was hopeless. The men were exhausted with their long and toilsome march; they had no cannon; their muskets were damaged, and their powder and cartridges in bad condition. Nevertheless, they determined to make the attempt. Ascending the steep and jagged path by which Wolfe had gained the elevated plateau in 1759, they found themselves by morning on the plain which stretches towards Quebec. Arnold sent a flag to demand the surrender of the place; but the flag was not received, and the city evinced no desire to capitulate to a mob of ragged and half-starved men. Arnold, after making an assault on one of the gates of the city, in which he was repulsed with loss, and finding that his troops had no more than five rounds of ammunition to each man, retired to Point aux Trembles, 20 miles above Quebec, and between that city and Montreal.

The defences of Quebec were excellent; but the number of soldiers within the walls was few. A small reinforcement, however, had arrived on November 12, when Colonel Maclean, who had fallen back from Fort Chambly, entered the city at the head of 170 men, levied chiefly among the Highlanders settled in Canada.

Two ships of war were in the harbor, and the crews of merchant-vessels were detained to aid in the defence. The arrival of General Carleton on the 19th cheered the spirits of the garrison. His first act was to order all who would not join in the defence to quit the city within four days. The governor had now under his command nearly 1800 men, of whom about 300 were regular soldiers. With these were combined 485 seamen and marines, several militia men, and a number of civilians pressed for the service. Montgomery was organizing his own legions for an attack on this force, if he could tempt it out into the open country, or on its stronghold, if he could not. It was a desperate enterprise, for he had no siege-guns, and his men were very far from being disciplined troops. Several of his hasty levies had by this time deserted him, yielding to that feeling of homesickness which was so commonly found among small farmers and comfortable husbandmen. Moreover, the engagements of the New Englanders terminated on the last day of the year; it was feared that they would not voluntarily remain any longer; and it was therefore imperative to act at once, if anything was to be even attempted. Resolving to dare the utmost, Montgomery, on November 26, left Montreal with three armed schooners, carrying artillery and 300 troops. Before quitting the city, he made a public declaration that, on his return, he would call a convention of the Canadian people.

A junction with Arnold, at Point aux Trembles, was effected on December 3, and on the 5th the united force, consisting of 100 Anglo-Americans, and about 200 Canadian volunteers, appeared before Quebec. To Montgomery it seemed possible to carry the place by storm, though he knew that the loss of life must necessarily be great. The Lower Town was not so strongly defended as the Upper; it was there, if it was anywhere,

that the fortifications were vulnerable. Still, the attempt was terribly hazardous. Montgomery sent a flag of truce to the city, with a demand for its surrender; but Carleton fired on the flag, and refused to enter into any negotiations with the "rebels." A battery was then begun on the Heights of Abraham, near the gate of St. John. Montgomery, in writing to General Wooster, said that he expected no other advantage from his artillery than to amuse the enemy and to blind him as to the real design. In default of earth, which could not be obtained, owing to the severe frost, the gabions and fascines were filled with snow, on which large quantities of water were poured, so that in a moment a solid mass of ice was produced. The siege, however, was a mere delusion. The shot thrown by the artillery was too light to effect a breach, or do any material damage, though the batteries were not more than 700 yards from the walls; and the guns, which were all of small calibre, were dismounted and injured by the return fire of the besieged. Disease of the lungs and small-pox thinned the ranks of Montgomery's army, and the season fought against them with weapons more deadly even than those which Carleton could command. If that officer could only be drawn out into the open field, he might be beaten; but he was too well acquainted with what had happened to Montcalm, when he rashly quitted the city and encountered the forces of Wolfe, to repeat that fatal error. It was evident, therefore, that nothing remained but the forlorn hope of an escalade. A council of war, held on the evening of the 16th, decided, by a large majority, that an assault should be made as soon as the necessary preparations could be completed.

The weather became every day more terrible in its severity. On the 30th, a heavy snow storm set in; and Montgomery, considering that the obscurity of the atmosphere would favor the contemplated movement,

gave orders for the troops to be ready for the assault at two o'clock on the following morning, when the men behaved with the utmost courage and resolution. In order that they might recognize one another, each soldier was to wear in his cap a piece of white paper; and some of them inscribed this placard with the words, "Liberty or Death!" The forces were divided into two columns, the chief of which was led by Montgomery himself, while the second was under the command of Arnold. But each of these bodies was subdivided and sent towards various quarters, so that the garrison might be simultaneously alarmed along the whole line of their defences. Two false demonstrations, on the southwest and nearer the south, were to distract the attention of the British and Canadian troops, while the real attacks, which were to be on the Lower Town, were delivered by Montgomery from the southeast, and by Arnold from the northeast.

Forming his small party of 300 men into Indian file, the chief commander led them to Wolfe's Cove, and proceeded two miles along the shore, by a rocky path, slippery with frozen snow. A northeastern blast drove in their faces the sharp and lacerating hail of those inclement regions; and the men, half blinded by the storm, had the greatest trouble to save themselves from falling on the rugged and icy way. It had been agreed that the signal for commencing the attack should be the firing of a rocket from Cape Diamond by one of the parties engaged in the false movements. This intimation was unfortunately given more than half an hour too soon, and Montgomery was compelled to hurry his advance. With a few companions, including the celebrated Aaron Burr, one of his aides-de-camp, he arrived at the first barrier, while the greater number of the troops were still behind. He now found himself in a narrow defile, sloping precipitously towards the river on

one side, and on the other shut in by a scarped rock and overhanging cliff. The passage was intercepted by a log-house, loopholed for musketry, and by a battery of two three-pounders; and the position was held by a party of English and Canadians, including some sailors, and numbering altogether 47 men. It was by this time daybreak on December 31, 1775, and the main body of the attacking force was seen marching up from Wolfe's Cove. A panic seized the guard, who for a moment drew back; but their firmness was speedily restored, and with lighted matches they awaited, behind their guns, the onslaught of the enemy. At the head of 60 men, Montgomery, exclaiming that Quebec was theirs, sprang quickly forward. It was the last act of his life. The English guns were served by nine seamen, and were discharged when Montgomery was within 50 yards of their mouths. The commander at once fell dead, together with one of his aides and 11 others. Montgomery was wounded in three places, and his fall expedited the inevitable defeat of the enterprise.

AARON BURR.
(*Afterwards Vice-President of the U. S.*)

A feeling of dismay spread through the American

ranks at the death of their leader, thus occurring at the very outset of the assault. The captain of one of the companies was desirous of pushing forward; but he was ill supported and unable to make his will prevail. The arms of some of the men were wet, and, in the opinion of some of the officers, nothing more could be attempted with fatigued and disheartened troops. Fireballs were now being thrown by the British, and their baleful glare enabled the musketeers in the blockhouse to fire with murderous precision. A retreat was therefore ordered, and this was quietly and happily effected; though, had the garrison had the courage to pursue, it is probable that hardly a man would have escaped.

GENERAL DANIEL MORGAN.

The defenders of the city, however, were required in the city itself, for a vigorous assault was being carried on in another direction. Arnold's division advanced along the river St. Charles, the path by the side of which was narrowed by masses of ice, thrown up by the stream. The men of the attacking force could only move forward in single file, holding down their heads to protect their faces from the piercing wind and lashing drift of hail and snow, and covering their muskets with their coats. They were met by a heavy fire from the walls; but pressing on, they carried the first barricade after an hour of fighting. Arnold

was presently struck in the leg by a musket-ball, and carried to the rear in great agony. The troops were now headed by Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, whose self-devotion and military virtues were admirably displayed on this occasion, as on others; and it was under his directions that the battery was taken, and its defenders seized. The Patriots surmounted the barricade by ladders, and, on reaching the other side, found themselves in a perilous position. The place was in darkness, and the cold so extreme that the men were covered with icicles, and their muskets rendered unavailable by the driving snow. Morgan knew nothing of the town, and was in doubt as to what he should do. In a little while he was joined by Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, Timothy Bigelow, of Massachusetts, and Return J. Meigs, of Connecticut (all of them commanders in Arnold's column), and by the men belonging to their companies. The re-united force struggled on to the next barrier, and the scaling ladders were at once reared; but the menacing aspect of a large body of troops on the other side, standing with levelled bayonets, made the assailants pause. Many of the officers were shot down, for the British fire came not merely from the soldiers on the farther side of the barricade, but from houses on both sides of the narrow street. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the Patriots maintained the fight for nearly five hours; but at length the courage of several gave way, and they escaped over the shoal ice of the St. Charles. Towards daylight, those who remained, and who constituted the larger number, got into some stone houses, from which they poured a telling fire into their adversary's ranks, and were at the same time protected themselves. But all was in vain. The defeat of Montgomery's division left the whole of Carleton's army free to oppose that of Arnold, for it was evident by this time that the other attacks were feints. An unexpected

sally from the Palace Gate, in the rear of the assailants, overpowered the small but resolute band, and compelled a large number to surrender. The remainder, inspired by the reckless courage of Morgan, still fought on, in the hope of cutting their way out; but the feat was impossible, and at ten o'clock in the morning they laid down their arms. Carleton buried Montgomery with the honors of war, and treated his prisoners with humanity.

In 1818, in conformity with a resolution of the State of New York, Montgomery's remains were removed from the place where they had rested for 47 years, in the city of Quebec; and now repose beneath the monument bearing a record of his bravery and worth, which had been erected to his memory by the Continental Congress, under the eastern portico of St. Paul's Church, in the city of New York.

GENERAL DAVID WOOSTER.

Possessing military abilities of a high order, he never insisted on their supremacy when the good will of his men would be jeopardized, but sought to accomplish results by other and less objectionable means. He was amiable, benevolent, and strictly honest. His death deprived the country of an accomplished officer, and the State of a useful citizen.

On the death of Montgomery, Colonel Arnold assumed command of the fragments of the army, some 800 in number, but feeling his inability to make another assault, or even to defend himself successfully, he with-

drew from the immediate neighborhood of the city, entrenched himself as well as he could, and attempted the blockade of the town by cutting off its supplies from the country, where he continued till April, 1776, when General Wooster, who had wintered in Montreal, with his forces moved down to Quebec, and assumed the chief command.

At the head of 2000 men, half of whom were unfit for duty, Wooster renewed the siege, opening batteries on the town from the Heights of Abraham and from Point Levi, on the opposite side of the river; yet but little damage was done.

About this time Arnold's horse fell, injuring his wounded leg so severely that he was incapable of performing duty and forced to retire to Montreal, leaving to Wooster the sole guidance of the operations.

Early in May Wooster was superseded by General Thomas, but General Burgoyne having reached Quebec, on May 6, at the head of a powerful reinforcement, the Continentals were glad to escape, leaving Canada in the hands of England.

Shortly afterwards, after suffering several reverses and the loss of its general, by small-pox, the army, emaciated, spiritless, starved, and many of them struck with pestilence, returned to the colonies, and the expeditions to Canada were suspended, to be revived again, years afterwards, with similar results.

Originally designed with great care, and executed with exactness, these expeditions, in the face of obstacles with but few would confront, until the fatal thirty-first of December, each promised a brilliant success; and, although the commander of the one laid his life on the altar of his country, and the other descended to a traitor's grave, the deeds of daring, and the disinterested patriotism which each displayed in Canada, entitle both to the grateful remembrance of their countrymen to the end of time.

CHAPTER V.

In and Around Philadelphia.

Trenton (December 26, 1776).—In the camp of our enemies was exultation; and gloom spread over the almost disheartened colonies. The best troops in the army had been captured at Fort Washington. The enemy had gained possession of Rhode Island, Long Island, New York City, nearly all the Jerseys, and awaited only the accumulation of ice in the Delaware to extend his conquest into Pennsylvania. The Patriot troops were exhausted, dispirited, retreating; and the greater part of them would be entitled to their discharge at the end of the year. Washington never despaired; he now formed the resolution of crossing the Delaware, and hazarding an engagement with the enemy.

Two of the most important positions—Trenton and Bordentown—were occupied by bodies of Hessians. Trenton was more particularly exposed; and on Trenton, therefore, Washington determined to concentrate his attack. It was a desperate enterprise, and Washington well knew its risks. "Our numbers," he said, "are less than I had any conception of; but necessity, dire necessity will—nay, must—justify my attack."

The British force at Trenton consisted of 1500 Hessians, under Colonel Rahl, and a troop of Light Horse. At Bordentown, farther down the river, was a second detachment of Hessians; and the other divisions

of the invading army were quartered about the country from the Hackensack to the Delaware. With the quick reasoning of military genius, Washington discerned his opportunity. "Now is the time," said he, "to clip their wings, while they are so spread." The plan of attack included a movement against the detachments stationed at Bordentown, Burlington, Black Horse, and Mount Holly, which were to be surprised by General Cadwallader, advancing across the river from Bristol; while Washington, at the head of the main body, should cross above Trenton, and fall upon the Hessians under Colonel Rahl.

On Christmas night, with 2400 men, he marched to the river. The current was sullen, and filled with craunching ice-cakes. In the blackness of the night they landed on the Jersey shore, and began their hard march of nine miles to Trenton. Many of the Patriots had no shoes, and left their blood-stained footprints on the frozen ground. Said Washington, "We will use only bayonets to-night—we *must* take the town." The Hessians were surprised early next morning; the victory was won. The battle lasted but 35 minutes, and the whole army surrendered, men, arms, and colors. Rahl did the utmost to rally his men; but early in the engagement he received a mortal wound, and his soldiers, dismayed by the American cannon, which did terrible execution, became discouraged. A thousand of them, after endeavoring to retreat towards Princeton, and being intercepted by a detachment sent for that purpose, grew bewildered, struck their colors, and surrendered themselves prisoners; the rest, including the Light Horse, had at an early period fled by the bridge over the Assanpink, and escaped to Bordentown. Six brass field-pieces and a thousand stand of arms remained in the hands of the conquerors. Nearly thirty of the Hessian privates, and six officers (exclusive of Rahl),

WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

were killed, while the Patriots lost only four men, of whom two were frozen to death by the intense cold. The rest of the night was consumed in recrossing the river, and before morning the last transport had landed the last Patriot soldier, with the spoils of the thousand prisoners-of-war, on the Pennsylvania side. The turning-point of Independence had been passed.

PRINCETON (January 3, 1777).—Howe was still at New York when the news arrived of Washington's brilliant performance on the Delaware. Cornwallis was on the point of departing for Europe, but was recalled, and on January 2, marched at the head of 7000 of the best troops of the British army on Trenton, "to wipe out the late mortifying disgrace, rescue the vanquished, and by a single overwhelming blow annihilate the rebels."

Again, on December 30, 1776, was the Delaware crossed by Washington and his crusaders of freedom. Washington knew that the enemy was superior to him in numbers and discipline. At a council meeting he observed that, from the number of hostile troops then in front of them, it was reasonable to suppose that Cornwallis could not have left many in the rear. He proposed to move, by a secret night march, to Princeton—thence, if no insuperable difficulties presented themselves, to push on to New Brunswick—and in this way to surprise the rear-guard, and capture their stores before the British general could come up. The plan was approved and steps taken for putting it into execution. At midnight the march began. Every precaution was taken to mask the removal of the troops, and to deceive the enemy as to what was intended. Men were employed all the night digging an entrenchment close to the British sentries; the bivouac-fires were kept burning; and a certain number of guards were ordered

BATTLE AT PRINCETON.

to remain at the bridge and the fords until the approach of daylight, when they were to follow their comrades.

A rapid roundabout march of eighteen miles brought the Patriots to the eastern skirts of Princeton on the morning of January 3, 1777. The contending forces being equal in numbers and field-pieces, the ground was fiercely contested. The Patriots were at first thrown into some confusion by the unwavering obstinacy and vigorous resistance they encountered; but by great personal exertions, in which his own life was recklessly exposed, Washington rallied his men, and, leading his raw levies to within 30 yards of the enemy, made one headlong charge. The British regiments broke and fled, unable to resist the terrible onslaught of such men. 200 lay dead and bleeding on the field, and a large number were brought in as prisoners.

The loss of the Patriots in this affair has never been ascertained, the accounts varying from thirty to one hundred. The chief loss, however, was General Mercer, Colonel Haslett, of the Delaware line, Colonel Potter, of Pennsylvania, Major Morris, Captain William Shippen, Captain Neal, of the artillery, Captain Fleming, who commanded the 7th Virginia Regiment, and three other officers.

Washington desired to make a forced march on New Brunswick, and he did in fact pursue the regiments which he had broken up in the morning a considerable distance along the road; but the soldiers, who had been without rest, and very scantily supplied with food, for thirty-six hours, and of whom many were insufficiently clad, and barefooted, were so utterly worn out that the design could not be completed. After a brief pause for rest and refreshment, Washington advanced to Morristown, where he went into winter-quarters. New Jersey was redeemed at this Battle of Princeton; and the colonies were saved.

The first great result of Washington's march to Princeton, in the rear of the enemy's position, was that Cornwallis was obliged to relinquish his posts on the Delaware. But that was not all. From his vantage ground at Morristown, Washington sent out detachments to harass the troops. Giving them no rest, but repeating the blows with the greatest rapidity in various directions, he compelled Cornwallis to abandon one post after another, and to withdraw towards New York. East and West Jersey were equally overrun by the Patriots, who, in a little while, made themselves masters of the coast opposite Staten Island. As the winter progressed, not a British or Hessian regiment remained in the province, except at New Brunswick and Amboy; Philadelphia was removed from danger; and the frequent surprise and cutting-off of advanced guards created a wide alarm. For six months, however, nothing further of importance occurred. Howe remained at New York, tamely acquiescing in his loss of the Jerseys. The Patriot troops at Morristown were encamped for the winter in temporary huts, and cantonments were established at various points. Thence they could readily issue forth on their rapid excursions against the foe; but no general action was hazarded while the new army was as yet imperfectly organized. Still, the gain had been neither slight nor fugitive. The tide was not yet at its highest, but it had begun to turn. American independence was now assured.

Nothing could exceed the effect of these successes. In New Jersey the alteration in public sentiment was remarkable. Towards the close of 1776, the King had so many adherents in that province that the Patriot army, in its retreat from New York to the Delaware, was received almost as a host of invaders. On numerous houses along the road, bits of red rag were seen nailed upon the doors, as tokens of attachment to the Crown;

and the British troops who followed were greeted as if they had been deliverers. By the spring of 1777, all this had changed. The British and Hessian soldiers had behaved with such cruelty and arrogance, that the people, in a few months' time, came to hate them. As Washington's forces regained possession of the State, they found abundant evidence that the people were no longer monarchical. Everywhere, the bits of red rag were being torn down from the houses with haste and enthusiasm. The rapid successes of the Patriot arms had rallied multitudes to the revolutionary cause. This was the case not merely in New Jersey, but in many other parts of the confederated States. A feeling of confidence was re-born. The hopeless despondency of the previous months was dissipated. It was seen that the King's army was not invincible, that the soldiers of the Republic were capable of victory, and were being handled with skill and resolution. With the restoration of confidence, the feeling of nationality was proportionately strengthened. The recruiting of the army went on more rapidly than it had yet done; and several who had talked of leaving the ranks as soon as they were legally free to do so, now willingly remained, in the hope of future distinction.

From this date, the American army became worthy of the name.

BRANDYWINE (September 11, 1777).—Howe, having spent the summer at New York, where he was closely watched by Washington, finally took the field, and manœuvred to force the Patriot army to a general fight. But Washington was too wary for him. Howe now left New York with 18,000 men, embarking on his brother's fleet, and brought his army around by sea, landing at the head of Chesapeake Bay, with a view of capturing Philadelphia. Howe's mysterious movements had

caused great embarrassment in the Patriot camp. Washington was sorely troubled during these weary days of waiting, hesitation and anxiety; and it was only when the enemy had entered the bay that any correct idea could be formed of his intended attack.

The judicious disposition of his forces by Washington in the meantime had so completely covered the Capital, however, that the enemy was unable to take any advantage; and when he landed below the head of the Elk, on August 25, the Patriot forces were ready to oppose him. Washington had not 8000 effectives at his command, while Howe, who had been reinforced from home, could reckon on the services of 30,000 good troops.

Washington, fully conscious of the great inferiority of his army to that by which he was opposed, fell back from his first position after a few skirmishes, in which his troops were not altogether unsuccessful, and withdrew behind the Brandywine, a small creek, which falls into the Delaware near Wilmington. Taking possession of the high grounds near Chad's Ford, he awaited the attack of the enemy. The fords above were guarded by his right wing, under General Sullivan; and the position on the left was held by General Armstrong, at the head of the Pennsylvania militia.

At daybreak on September 11, the enemy was in motion, and the success which had attended the movements on Long Island, the previous year, induced Howe to attempt a similar manœuvre in this case. For this purpose the army had been divided into two commands, and advanced in two columns against the Patriots. The right column, with 5000 men, was commanded by General Knyphausen, who took the direct road to Chad's Ford. The left column, under Cornwallis, numbering 13,000 men, turned the right flank of the Patriot army; a dense fog, which enveloped the country, greatly

facilitating the movements by concealing them from the Patriot scouting parties. It was not wholly concealed, however, Washington receiving information, through Sullivan, of the movements, although the strength of the enemy seems to have been strangely underrated, probably in consequence of the fog concealing his numbers.

Washington ordered Sullivan to cross the Brandywine and attack Cornwallis, while he would take the centre and attack Knyphausen. Before these movements could be executed, intelligence reached Sullivan that nothing had been seen to excite alarm; and this last report being confirmed, Washington and Sullivan reoccupied their positions. This change of purpose decided the fortunes of the day—the victory had, in reality, been gained by the strategy of Howe.

On receipt of correct information, Sullivan again moved the three brigades forming the right wing of the army to meet Cornwallis, and took a strong position, with his left extending nearly to the Brandywine, both flanks covered with very thick woods, and his artillery advantageously disposed. In consequence of a dispute respecting the right of the line—the post of honor—between Sullivan and a French officer named Deborre, the division was not fully prepared for action when Cornwallis and the troops under his command, about four o'clock in the afternoon, swept over Osborne's Hill, in three columns, and attacked it with great fury. The Hessians led the attack, and as they advanced in an unbroken, well-dressed column, they were severely harassed by a company of Patriot light troops. The artillery of both armies opened with terrible effect, and the conflict became general and severely contested. With an obstinacy which older troops might have been proud of, the Patriots maintained their ground, and repelled charge after charge from the powerful and well-

LORD CORNWALLIS.

disciplined force which opposed them, until overwhelming numbers forced them to yield. The noble 800 of which this brigade was composed could do but little in opposing the enemy, however, although they maintained their ground for a considerable time. Two of Sullivan's aides were killed, and Lafayette was wounded in the leg by a musket-ball, when, further resistance being useless, the remnants of the brigade retreated, leaving the enemy master of the position.

Washington now left Generals Wayne and Maxwell to oppose Knyphausen, while he and Greene and the brigades of Weedon and Muhlenberg, hastened to strengthen Sullivan. He was not in time to prevent the retreat, but by skilful movements he received the fugitives, covered their retreat, checked the progress of the enemy, and kept him at bay during the rest of the day.

When the report of the artillery reached Knyphausen, he attacked the position occupied by General Wayne and the Pennsylvania troops. The latter, with the light troops, under Maxwell, defended their position with great gallantry until intelligence of the defeat of the right wing was received, when a retreat was ordered, and in great disorder, and with the loss of all their artillery and stores, they fell in on Greene's rear.

During the succeeding night Washington's defeated forces retreated to Chester, and, on the following day, to Germantown, where they encamped.

The Patriots were routed, Philadelphia was taken, and the British army went into quarters there and at Germantown.

The strength of the armies has never been accurately ascertained. Washington's effective troops did not exceed 11,000 men; while the force of the enemy was estimated to have been 18,000 strong, with abundance of everything necessary for the prosecution of such a campaign.

The loss of each is also a subject of doubt. Howe

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

reported to his government the loss of 90 killed, 468 wounded, and 6 missing. Washington, from the disconnected condition of the army, found it impossible to make a return of his loss. Howe reported that, including 400 prisoners, the loss of the Americans was about 1300 men.

GERMANTOWN (October 4, 1777).—These disasters forced on Congress the necessity of again leaving Philadelphia. On September 18, the members determined to remove to Lancaster, where they met on the 27th, and on the same day adjourned to York, where they assembled on the 30th.

The arrival of Howe at Philadelphia was followed, at the beginning of October, by the sailing of the fleet under his brother, Lord Howe, from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, that it might be employed in forcing the defences of the latter river. To aid this work, a detachment of troops was stationed on the left bank of the Delaware, in New Jersey. A large part of the army was at Germantown and the remainder at Philadelphia. This divided state of the British forces suggested to Washington the idea of a sudden attack on his opponent, such as might enable him to recover the capital of the State. The British encampment extended across the village of Germantown, at right angles with the main road. Fourteen miles off, the Patriots were posted near Skippack Creek, one of the affluents of the river Schuylkill. They began their march on the evening of October 3, divided into four columns, which were to approach the British by four distinct routes, and simultaneously burst on their right, left, centre, and rear at Germantown. Howe's forces were evidently unprepared for such an attack, which took them completely by surprise. The action began a little after daybreak with a bayonet-charge of great vehemence. The

LORD HOWE, COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

fighting was for a time very hot at the centre and on the Patriots' left; but the attempt was unsuccessful, as others which had preceded it. So thick a fog prevailed at the time—and it soon got thicker from the smoke of the firing—that, at a distance of thirty yards, it was impossible to distinguish one army from the other; and this led to bewilderment and confusion. The failure of the enterprise is described by Washington in a letter to his brother, where he writes:—"After we had driven the enemy a mile or two—after they were in the utmost confusion, and flying before us in most places—after we were upon the point, as it appeared to everybody, of grasping a complete victory—our own troops took flight, and fled with precipitation and disorder. How to account for this, I know not; unless the fog represented their own friends to them for a reinforcement of the enemy, as we attacked in different quarters at the same time, and were about closing the wings of our army when this happened." Want of ammunition in the right wing, which began the engagement, contributed to the discomfiture of the design. Each man took with him forty rounds; and, in the course of the two hours and a half during which the fighting continued, these were completely exhausted.

Considerable courage and good conduct had been shown at the commencement of the action, and the British regiments were at first thrown into disorder; but, having recovered themselves with the steadiness of veterans, they inflicted terrible blows on their antagonists. "In a word," says Washington to his brother, "it was a bloody day." Our loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was as many as a thousand; and, of the missing, it is probable that many took "advantage of the times," and deserted. Howe reported his loss at 71 killed, 450 wounded, and 14 missing. His troops had not prevailed without paying heavily for it, as at

times the contest was furious. The Patriot army retired to its camp at Whitemarsh, fourteen miles distant; and Howe sought safety by retiring to Philadelphia.

Defeated though they were, the Patriots were not entirely losers by this transaction, which showed that they were equal to bold and daring enterprises in the open field. The effect from a political point of view was very important. Washington's courageous course and the unconquerable resolve with which he nerved his handful of beaten and half-starved troops to face Howe's army is the noblest of his triumphs. It made a deep impression on the French, who, in 1778, made a treaty of alliance with us.

After these battles Howe turned his attention to the forts on the Delaware, which prevented his bringing supplies up to Philadelphia. The gallant defenders were forced by severe bombardments to evacuate; and Washington retired for winter-quarters to Valley Forge.

CHAPTER VI.

The Campaign at the North.

Bennington and Saratoga.—Burgoyne had been in England during the early months of 1777, and had there concerted with the Ministry a plan of the campaign. The army placed at his disposal consisted of more than 7000 regulars (English and German), together with a great number of Canadians and Indians. This army was to be aided by a division under Clinton, who was stationed at New York, and was to advance in a northerly direction. A naval armament was also to accompany this Burgoyne expedition.

Burgoyne undertook to force his way down from Canada, through Lake Champlain and Lake George, to the Hudson River. He was expected to capture Albany, and make a junction with the British forces at New York. The effect of this would have been to cut the United Colonies in two.

On June 16 Burgoyne sent a detachment to make a diversion towards Lake Oswego and the Mohawk River, while he sailed up Lake Champlain. A few days later, he encamped at Crown Point, where he met his Indian allies, gave them a war-feast, and, in a grandiloquent speech, sought at once to excite their courage and curb their disposition to ferocity. Burgoyne and Carleton had both doubted the propriety of employing these barbarians; but it was part of the Ministerial

GENERAL BURGOYNE.

scheme that their assistance should be sought. Many incidents of the campaign showed how deeply criminal was the use of savage warriors in a contest between two branches of a civilized race. Burgoyne issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the country, in which he threatened vengeance against the people if they opposed the Royal troops, and alluded to the fury of the Indians, who were ready to butcher the friends of independence. He was very confident as to the results of his campaign; and, in an address to the army, said: "The services required of this particular expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur in which neither difficulty, nor labor, nor life are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." It did more than retreat; it surrendered.

Burgoyne marched south from Canada with over 800 men. He compelled St. Clair to evacuate Ticonderoga, and captured the artillery and all the stores that St. Clair was trying to move. He then went to Skenesborough (now Whitehall), at the south end of Lake Champlain. At length he reached the Hudson, at Fort Edward, having gained complete control of Lake Champlain and Lake George. General Schuyler exhibited praiseworthy energy in preparing for the defence, but, having but a small force, could only obstruct his path through the wilderness by felling trees across the road, and breaking down bridges. Burgoyne had in a few days gained possession of the strong forts on the lakes, destroyed a number of vessels, and taken 128 pieces of artillery, besides a large quantity of provisions, stores, and materials of war. His success spread the utmost alarm throughout the northern part of the Republican Union, and, in the same degree, raised sanguine hopes in England that the rebellion was about to be crushed.

From Fort Edward, Burgoyne sent a force of his hired Hessians into what is now Vermont, to capture stores

BURGOYNE ADDRESSING THE INDIANS.

and horses. But the militia of Western New England, who were accustomed to the use of firearms from childhood, gathered under the lead of General Stark, and at the BATTLE OF BENNINGTON (August 16, 1777), utterly defeated the detachments sent out by Burgoyne. Together with a large number of arms, 700 prisoners were taken by Stark, and 207 of the enemy's force were left dead on the field. The Patriot loss was 30 killed and about 40 wounded.

This event was the harbinger of good news from the Northern department—that scene of disaster and trouble. The invader was paralyzed, the prospect of a supply of provisions became more gloomy, the dissatisfaction of the British forces that Hessians had been employed was loudly expressed, and the Indian auxiliaries abandoned the army. As soldiers these sanguinary savages were worthless. They disgraced the cause for which they pretended to fight. The spirits of the Patriots, and of the people, revived; the ability of the militia to contend with regular troops, posted behind entrenchments and defended with cannon, was demonstrated; the movements of Burgoyne, and his abilities to do mischief, were checked; and new hopes and new resolutions were produced. The country and the world, then and since, has determined that the battle of Bennington, unimportant as it may appear, was one of the most important battles, in its results, of the American Revolution.

After the failure of his attempt to obtain supplies from Bennington, Burgoyne was obliged to fetch his provisions once more from Fort George, and at last, by great exertions, succeeded in collecting a stock sufficient for thirty days; during which time he hoped to reach Albany, effect a union with Howe's forces, separate the Eastern from the Middle and Southern Colonies, and lay the foundation for that complete subjugation of the

rebellious colonists which was the object of the government and the King. He was soon unpleasantly convinced that his recent repulse had had a very bad effect on the population generally. The disloyal were encouraged; the loyal disheartened. The latter had begun to enlist in the British service; but they now hesitated and held back. The revolutionists were all the more inclined to take up arms. Every day the patriotic levies grew in number and waxed in spirit. The New England men enlisted in large bodies; many not waiting for any authoritative summons. In a few weeks Burgoyne had in his front a force of 13,000 irregulars—admirable marksmen with the rifle, if they were nothing else. An officer in Burgoyne's army records that in many poor habitations the people of Massachusetts parted with one of their blankets, where they had but two, for the use of the soldiers. In New England, the feeling was almost, if not quite unanimous. The masses were prepared to suffer anything, rather than submit.

The two Battles of Saratoga (September 19 and October 7, 1777).—On September 13 and 14, Burgoyne crossed to the west side of the Hudson, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, twenty miles below Fort Edward, and thirty-seven above Albany. Gates was at Stillwater, and not more than twelve miles separated the two armies. The bridges between them, however, were broken down, and the roads were so bad that the British, encumbered by their train of artillery and numerous wagons, could only move with extreme slowness. Thick woods burdened the country. Frequent skirmishing took place, but the advance of the British was not checked. On the evening of the 17th, Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the Patriot army, which was drawn up in front of Stillwater, along a range of low hills called

Bemis's Heights. This encampment had been planned by the Polish Patriot, Kosciusko, of whom Washington had spoken as "a gentlemen of science and merit." On September 19, Burgoyne placed himself at the head of the right wing, and marched against his foes, who, not waiting to be attacked, moved forward also, as soon as they perceived the approach of the British, which was for some time hidden by the intervening forest. Gates, who was well served by a number of active scouts, detached Colonel Morgan, the dashing ranger distinguished for his courage before Quebec and at other places, to observe the motions of the opposing forces. Morgan met the advancing column, and drove it back; but the men were soon rallied, and, in their turn, compelled the Patriots to give way.

GENERAL KOSCIUSKO.

The engagement shortly afterwards became general. The Patriots first attempted to turn the right flank of the British line, but, being foiled in this, attacked the left of Burgoyne's right wing. Reinforcements were hurried up on both sides, and, in the course of the afternoon, General Arnold, with nine Continental regiments and Morgan's riflemen, was closely engaged

with the Royal troops. Most of Burgoyne's artillerymen were killed at their guns, and the carnage generally was terrible. During the action Burgoyne had exposed himself with almost reckless courage, and it is surpris-

PATRIOT SHARPSHOOTER UP A TREE.

ing that he should have escaped unhurt. Several of the Patriots climbed trees in the rear of their countrymen, and, whenever the volleys ceased for a few minutes, and the air cleared of smoke, took aim at the British

officers, of whom, in one regiment, more than two-thirds were killed or wounded.

For four hours, until sunset, this stubborn conflict continued, one party determined to conquer, the other not to be conquered, and darkness finally accomplished what man was unable to effect. The Patriots retired from the field in good order and without pursuit, claiming the victory because they had checked the progress of the enemy; the British retained a field barren alike of advantage and glory, claiming also to be victors, from their possession of the field of battle.

The force of the two armies actually engaged was nearly equal, the Patriots numbering about 3000, the enemy about 3500 men.

The loss on the part of the enemy was about 600 killed and wounded. The Patriot loss was 65 killed, 218 wounded, and 38 missing.

Burgoyne felt it was unwise to make a fresh attack, though next morning he took up ground nearer to the American lines. Disliking to abandon his wounded, he refrained from any attempt to cut his way to Albany. He was now almost within cannon-shot of the enemy, and a pause ensued, during which both combatants fortified their camps. The Patriots were greatly inspirited by hearing that General Lincoln had assembled a formidable body of New England militia, and, by a skilful disposition of them in the neighborhood of the lakes, had cut off Burgoyne's retreat towards Canada. Before the end of September, a portion of this force, amounting to 2000 men, arrived in Gates's camp, and added still further to his strength; and at the same time several of the British outposts near Ticonderoga were taken by the New Englanders, together with many gunboats and other vessels, which were afterwards destroyed. An attack on Ticonderoga itself, and another on Diamond

Island, where Burgoyne had deposited all the stores he had collected at the south end of Lake George, were repulsed; but altogether the Americans had greatly improved their prospects by these operations. The most sanguine anticipations were formed throughout the United States; and they were not disappointed.

Burgoyne had little to comfort him in the straits to which he was now reduced. He endeavored to open communications with Howe and Clinton, but without success. From Clinton, however, on the morning of September 21, he received a letter in cipher, intimating that the New York highlands would be attacked about that time.

GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

No news of the expected co-operation having arrived, and the situation becoming every day more desperate, Burgoyne, on October 7, determined to make a movement to the enemy's left with a portion of his force, hoping to discover a favorable point for forcing a passage through the opposing lines. He also wished to divert the attention of the American forces while another part of his army was sent on a foraging expedition. This led to the second battle of Bemis's Heights. The English troops were met on their way by a large detachment from Gates's army, and a furious combat burst forth. Gates, as on September

19, remained behind in his encampment, that he might superintend the general operations of the day. Arnold was there also; restrained from any share in the fighting by Gates's order—between whom and himself a quarrel had arisen some days before. In consequence of this quarrel Arnold was deprived of his command; but on the 9th, hearing the firing grow louder and louder, he mounted his horse and rode off to the field of battle. Mingling with the combatants, he rode from regiment to regiment, searching out the hottest parts of the action, and issuing orders which met with a ready obedience, and contributed largely to the success of the day.

Arnold was resolved to push his advantage still further. He gave directions that the British lines should be stormed, and under cover of a raking fire of grapeshot and musketry the Patriots flung themselves against the entire length of the enemy's works. Charging at the head of the assailants, Arnold again distinguished himself by his fiery courage and resolution, but was ultimately wounded in the same leg which had been injured at Quebec. Lincoln also was seriously hurt. The Patriots had forced their way into the left of the English encampment, but were ultimately driven out by its defenders acting under Burgoyne's immediate orders; but the right and rear of the enemy's position were opened to the Patriot army.

A second time the close of day put an end to the battle, and the Patriots were this time acknowledged to be the victors. Besides the loss of the field on which action commenced, and the entrenchments of the Hessian reserve, the enemy suffered severely in the killed and wounded among his officers and men. Besides General Frazer, who was mortally wounded, Sir Francis Clark, aide-de-camp of Burgoyne, and Colonel Breyman, were killed, and Majors Ackland and Williams were taken prisoners, the former wounded. The

BATTLE OF SARATOGA: GENERAL ARNOLD WOUNDED. 109

exact loss of the enemy is unknown, but it has been supposed to amount to not less than 600 killed, wounded and prisoners. The loss of the Americans did not exceed 150 killed and wounded, among the latter of whom was General Arnold, who, just as the victory had been won, received a ball, which fractured his leg and killed his horse.

Though only partial, the success of the Patriots had been great. They had gained a position on the British right and rear; they had disabled many of their adversaries; they had made more than 200 prisoners, including several officers of distinction; and they had taken nine brass guns, all the baggage and camp equipage of the Hessian brigade that had been defeated, and a large supply of ammunition, which they greatly needed. The state of affairs was so threatening for the Royal troops that in the course of the night they quitted their encampment, and took up a fresh position on some neighboring hills, with their right extending up the river. This change of front relieved Burgoyne from immediate peril, but brought him no nearer victory. It was the first occasion during the war on which, without the advantage of protecting works, without any ambuscade or surprise, in the open field, and by the operations of a regular pitched battle, the Patriots had proved themselves more than a match for veterans.

In their new position the British remained throughout the 8th, offering battle, which Gates declined to accept, but made every arrangement for getting still more in the rear of the enemy's divisions. Burgoyne, on discovering this movement, saw that he had no alternative but a retreat to Saratoga. Such was the sorry result of an expedition which had been prefaced by the lofty announcement that "this army must not retreat." His troops were in motion by nine o'clock on the evening of the 8th. The sick and wounded he

was compelled to leave behind in hospital, commending them by letter to the kindly consideration of General Gates, which in the event was not found wanting. The distance to be traversed was barely ten miles; but the march was of a most laborious and painful character. Burgoyne was determined not to relinquish his artillery; yet to convey it was a matter of extreme difficulty. Very few of his draught-horses remained, and the roads were heavy with rain, which now fell persistently. The guns were slowly dragged across the intervening country, and the progress of the army was retarded by this solicitude and by the necessity of protecting the boats upon the Hudson, which contained their scanty stores of provisions. The forces did not reach Saratoga until the following night. "Such was their state of fatigue," wrote Burgoyne at a subsequent date, "that the men, for the most part, had not strength or inclination to cut wood and make fires, but rather sought sleep in their wet clothes upon the wet ground, under the continuing rain." It was the main body of the army which arrived on the 9th. Some of the troops, and the whole of the artillery, were so much delayed that they did not pass the fords of the Fishkill until the early morning of the 10th.

No real advantage had been gained by the removal. A division of the Patriots, marching with greater rapidity than the weary British, had got beyond Saratoga, and occupied the fords and other strong positions leading to Fort Edward. Another had crossed the Hudson, from the opposite shore of which so brisk a cannonade was maintained that it was found impossible to keep the provision-boats upon the river. The stores of food were therefore landed on the western side, and Burgoyne looked about him to see what new dispositions he could make. The prospect was depressing and terrible. On the hills round Saratoga the Patriots were posted in

force, so as to command the roads in many directions. For a time it occurred to Burgoyne that his regiments might, by casting aside all their impediments, escape by night to Fort Edward, with a few days' food upon their backs. To prepare the way for this movement, he sent forward a company of artificers, escorted by troops, to repair the roads and bridges, but was soon compelled to recall them, owing to the appearance of a large body of Patriots, ranged so as to indicate an intention of attacking the Royal army. Another scheme that suggested itself to Burgoyne was to take advantage of the great reduction of the enemy's forces towards Bemis's Heights, to retrace his ground, and to make a push for Albany. But, upon mature consideration, it appeared only too obvious that such a manœuvre could not be accomplished. The army from which so much had been hoped was caught in a trap, and the necessity of surrender became clearer with every hour.

On October 13 Burgoyne called a council of war. The Patriots were on the ford of Saratoga; they had taken positions on both banks of the Hudson; they were between the British army and Fort Edward; they had thrown up entrenchments, provided with artillery, on the high grounds between that fort and Fort George. On three parts of a circle they were strongly posted; the fourth part, though open, offered but slight chances of escape, since the enemy would at once have closed in and pursued, had any movement taken place. The situation of the British army was so absolutely commanded by the American cannon that no spot could be found for holding the council of war which was not exposed to the fire of artillery and small arms. Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than 6000 men, of whom not many more than half were British; nearly all his Indians had deserted him; and of provisions no more remained than would suffice for a week or eight days.

Addressing his officers, the general declared that nothing would induce him to propose terms to the enemy unless he had the full concurrence of his companions-in-arms, and that he was ready to take the lead

GENERAL HORATIO GATES.

in any measure that might be thought necessary for vindicating the honor of the British arms.

The council was unanimous for treating, provided that honorable terms could be obtained.

Negotiations were entered into with General Gage, and the capitulation was signed on the 16th, and on

October 17, 1777, Colonel Wilkinson was directed to visit General Burgoyne, and accompany him to the Green in front of old Fort Hardy, on the north bank of Fish Creek, near its intersection with the Hudson, where his army was to lay down its arms.

The success at Saratoga was soon followed by the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the power of the enemy in the North was prostrated. Of the effect of this victory it has been beautifully remarked by Lossing, that "all over the land a shout of triumph went up, and from the furrows, and workshops, and marts of commerce; from the pulpit, from provincial halls of legislation, from partisan camps, and from the shattered ranks of Washington at White Marsh, it was echoed and re-echoed. Toryism, which had begun to lift high its head, retreated behind the defence of inaction; the bills of Congress rose twenty per cent. in value; capital came forth from its hiding-places; the militia readily obeyed the summons to the camp; and the great patriot heart of America beat strongly with pulsations of hope."

Nor was the effect of this victory on the cause of America less apparent in Europe than in America. In the British Parliament the opposition led a terrible onslaught against the Government; while the friends of America took fresh courage and manfully sustained her cause. On the continent, the American character and the American representatives were more respected, her calls for aid were more cheerfully responded to, and France, Spain, Holland, and even Russia and the Pope, manifested more interest in the ultimate success of her cause.

From that day the United States of America assumed a position among the nations of the earth, and the effect of the struggle of her people was felt throughout the whole world.

CHAPTER VII.

The Storming of Stony Point (July 16, 1779).

No portion of the country possessed a greater degree of interest, during the war of the Revolution, and none was more carefully guarded than the Highlands on the Hudson. The "passes" in these hills were the objects of the greatest attention; and the student of the history of those times will have noticed the constant reference to that subject which pervades the correspondence of the master minds which, at that time, under God, guided the destinies of America.

At the foot of these Highlands, on the west side of the Hudson, about 40 miles above the city of New York, is Stony Point—a little rough promontory which juts out into the river, and prepares the mind of the passer-by, on his way northward, for the proper attention to those mighty barriers, which, just above, arrest the waters of the noble river in their tranquil progress towards the ocean. "The river washed three-fourths of its base, and the remaining fourth was covered, in a great measure, by a deep marsh, which commenced near the river, on the upper side, and continued into it below. Over this marsh there was but one crossing-place; but, at its junction with the river, was a sandy beach, passable at low water."

The army under Washington, in accordance with the defensive policy adopted by Congress, remained in its

winter-quarters, perfecting its discipline under the experienced eye of Baron Steuben, and preparing to move wherever its presence might be found necessary; that under Clinton, equally indisposed to move, remained in its quarters in New York, and showed itself only in an occasional predatory expedition to ravage the sea-coast, to plunder the inhabitants, or to burn their villages.

In the latter part of May, Clinton moved up the Hudson, with the evident intention to seize the passes in the Highlands; and, on June 1, 1779, he took possession of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point—the termini of "the King's Ferry"—at both of which points some works had been thrown up by the Americans. His farther progress, however, was arrested by the rapid movements of General Washington (who had received early intelligence of the expedition), and, after leaving strong garrisons at both these posts, he returned to New York.

BARON STEUBEN.

The enemy's movement against the coast of Connecticut was intended to draw Washington farther eastward, and to afford Clinton an opportnnity to complete his design; but he was so far from succeeding, that the former took advantage of the division of the enemy's

forces to retaliate, by attacking the posts which the latter had just secured on the Hudson. A further inducement to do this was offered in the great inconvenience which the Patriots would experience in being cut off from the great line of communication at the King's Ferry; in "the necessity of doing something to satisfy the expectations of the people, and reconcile them to the defensive plan he was obliged to pursue, and to the apparent inactivity which his situation imposed upon him;" in the value of stores, artillery, and men which it contained; in the check which it would exercise on the predatory movements of the enemy on the Sound; and in the effect it would produce on the forces if the campaign could be opened with a brilliant success.

With this object in view, Washington employed every means in his power to obtain information respecting the strength and disposition of the troops within the lines, the character and extent of the works which they were erecting, and the points at which they could be attacked with the greatest certainty of success. General Wayne, who commanded the light infantry, was also ordered to headquarters; and, two weeks later, the same officer, in a "private and confidential" letter, was further instructed to make the preparations necessary for the assault on the works. On July 10, the commander-in-chief communicated *his* views of the enterprise to Wayne; and the letter, which also contained the details of the proposed surprise, is one of the most remarkable specimens extant of the powerful mind of this great man. Every portion of the preparations, every step of the movements and the attendant contingencies, everything which *might*, possibly, defeat the enterprise, had passed his scrutiny. The reconnoitre, the watchword and badges by which the men were to be distinguished from the enemy, the time of night when the enemy's sentries and

officers of the night were least vigilant, the necessary precautions to prevent skulking and desertion, and others, the most trivial, were the objects of *his* care. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the proposed assault was a profound secret. The brigade of troops commanded by General Muhlenberg was selected as a covering party, yet it was moved with some other *apparent* object; and its course was so regulated that it was at the *necessary* point, at the *proper* moment, so far as the brigade was concerned, by *accident* only, without knowing its own importance in the great drama. The enemy's artillery was to be turned on his own shipping, opposite the fort, and a party of Patriot artillerists had been provided for that purpose, yet they took with them, from the park, two field-pieces, as a mask to the movement, and to prevent suspicion among themselves.

At length, on July 14, Washington gave permission to Wayne "to carry it (the proposed attempt) into execution, to-morrow night, as he desired," at the same time authorizing him to adopt either of the several "plans" on which they had conversed.

But Wayne could find no "plan" better adapted to secure the object of the expedition than that suggested and explained by his chief.

On the morning of July 15, three small parties of picked men, under prudent and vigilant officers, were despatched to secure the passes leading to Stony Point.

The necessary preparations having been made, the troops assembled at Sandy Beach, 14 miles above Stony Point; and, at noon on July 15th, they moved, over the hills and through the defiles of the Highlands, towards that post. The roads are represented as having been "exceedingly bad and narrow," compelling the troops to move, the greater part of the distance, in single files; and it was eight o'clock in the evening before the van of the column reached within a mile

and a half distant from the fort. The greatest care had been taken to prevent the desertion of any of the party, through whose treachery the enemy could be informed of the expedition; and the most perfect silence was enforced through the entire route.

While the troops were being formed into columns,

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

General Wayne and his staff rode forward to reconnoitre; and on his return the troops, for the first time, were made acquainted with the service to which they were ordered. Each man, at the same time, was ordered "to fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his hat or cap, to distinguish him from

the enemy;" and a watchword—"*The fort's our own*"—was communicated to each, with orders to give it "with repeated and loud voice," "when the works were forced, *and not before*."

The fort on Stony Point had been supplied with a sufficient number of heavy pieces of ordnance; and several breastworks and strong batteries were advanced in front of the principal works, while, farther down the hill, on the land side, were two rows of *abatis*. These several defences "commanded the beach and the crossing-place of the marsh, and could rake and enfilade any column which might be advancing from either of those points towards the fort. In addition to these defences several vessels of war were stationed in the river, so as, in a considerable degree, to command the ground at the foot of the hill." The garrison was composed of the Seventeenth regiment of foot, the grenadiers of the Seventy-first regiment, and detachments from the Loyal Americans and the Royal Artillery, in all about 600 men.

With the utmost silence the columns pursued their way, until the small stream which separates the point from the main land had been passed, when the left wing diverged towards the eastern flank of the works; and the right, with which was General Wayne, towards the western flank. Soon afterwards the North Carolina light troops, under Major Murfey, moved from the rear of the left wing and proceeded directly towards the fort, between the two columns, for the purpose of masking their approach. The tide being up, the beach was covered with more than two feet of water; and, soon after the columns separated, the right wing encountered one of the enemy's outposts, which fired on the assailants and alarmed the garrison.

In the meantime Major Murfey pushed forward between the two columns, and opened, and kept up, a heavy fire

THE ASSAULT ON STONY POINT.

on the enemy, diverting his attention from the real points of attack, and receiving the greater part of the heavy fire of musketry and artillery, loaded with grape-shot, which was opened on the Patriots from the works.

With this exception not a gun was fired by the assailants, and the two columns pushed forward, through the marsh, in perfect silence. The *abatis* was cleared with more difficulty, and the obstructions thrown in their way were more formidable than had been expected; yet "neither the deep morass, the formidable and double rows of *abatis*, nor the high and strong works, in front and flank, could damp the ardor of the troops, who, in the face of a most tremendous and incessant fire of musketry, and from artillery loaded with grape-shot, forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, both columns meeting in the centre of the enemy's works, nearly at the same instant."

Scaling the parapet, and creeping through the embrasures on either side, the assailants raised the cry, "The fort's our own," and drove the garrison before them, notwithstanding the most desperate resistance was offered. While this terrible hand-to-hand contest was raging within the fort, Wayne, who had been wounded in the head with a musket-ball, was laying near the *abatis*, where he fell, but when the enemy had surrendered, as he soon did, the general was borne into the fort, "bleeding, but in triumph." Three hearty cheers from his victorious troops formed the salute under which the daring Wayne was carried into the fort to receive the submission of the garrison: and the neighboring "Highlands," under the inspiration of the moment, caught up the joyful sound, and tossing it from hill-top to hill-top, proclaimed, "The fort's our own."

No time was lost in turning the guns of the fort against the shipping in the river, and against Fort Fayette, on Verplanck's Point, conveying to them the

information that Stony Point was no longer in the possession of the King's troops. The latter received the information in sullen silence; the former slipped their cables and dropped down the river with the ebb of the tide.

In this gallant affair the Americans lost 15 killed and 83 wounded; the enemy 1 officer and 19 men killed: 6 officers and 68 men wounded; 2 officers and 56 men missing; and 25 officers and 447 men prisoners.

The ordnance and stores which were in the fort were valued at nearly $160,000, and this amount, in conformity with the promise of General Wayne before the assault, was divided among the troops in proportion to the pay of the officers and men; besides which $1500 were divided among the first five men who entered the fort. Congress presented its thanks to the troops, and, in accordance with the suggestions of Washington, ordered medals to be struck in honor of the event, and presented to General Wayne, Colonel Fleury and Major Stewart; the country was filled with joy; and even the enemy was compelled to pay homage, not only to the daring of the assailants, but to the generous mercy of the victors.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Campaigns at the South (1778–1781).

Savannah (December 29, 1778).—Clinton was now bent on carrying the war into the Southern States, which as yet had but slightly felt the effects of the rupture. His views on the subject had been confirmed by the Home Government, and he despatched 3500 men by sea to Georgia. The command was conferred on General Prevost. Savannah was defended by General Robert Howe, but without success. His command did not exceed 550 men, but he was strengthened soon after with the command of Colonel Charles C. Pinckney, and others, and by Governor Houston of Georgia, at the head of 350 militia. With this little party he contested the possession of Savannah with the relatively powerful force of invaders.

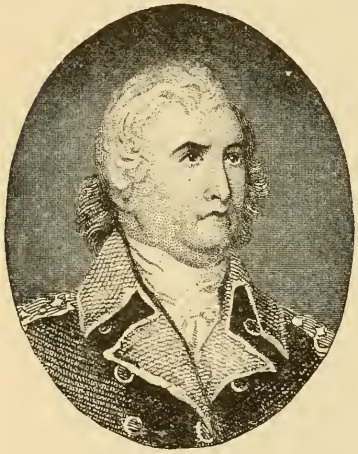
The inhabitants flocked to the King's officers, and made their peace at the expense of their patriotism, and Georgia soon became one of the most loyal of the enemy's possessions. The city was speedily mastered; Augusta also was taken, and in less than ten days the whole province was reduced.

General Lincoln was now appointed to the command of the Southern Department, at the head of the troops from the Carolinas, and was joined by the remains of Robert Howe's little force, and contented himself by

SIR HENRY CLINTON.

attempting to protect South Carolina from the ravages of the enemy.

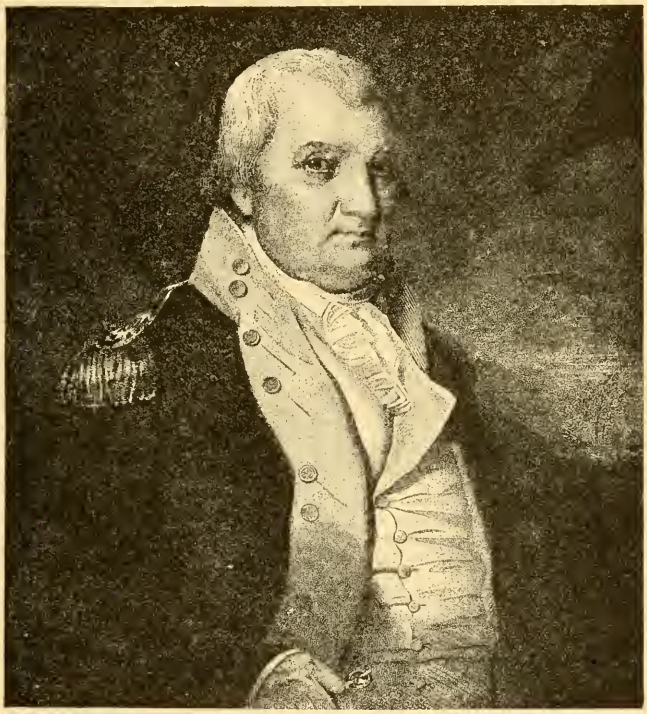
Prevost had under him some 3000 men, exclusive of the irregulars who had joined him in Georgia. Lincoln had 3639 men, of which number 1211 were inefficient; and only 1121 were regulars, the remainder being inexperienced, undisciplined, and restless militia. Prevost attacked Port Royal and Beaufort, but was driven off by General Moultrie. Contented with his reception, Prevost made no further attempts to pass the limits of Georgia. There were several petty incursions and skirmishes, but the British gained no honor from any of these expeditions.



GENERAL WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

SIEGE OF SAVANNAH (September 23 to October 18, 1779).—Prevost, though compelled to abandon his attempt on South Carolina, and to relinquish the upper parts of Georgia, was still in a position to keep that region in a state of alarm. D'Estaing, on his return from the West Indies, where he had been successfully engaged, with Admiral Byron, was requested by Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, and by General Lincoln, to visit Savannah, and help them to expel the British. He assented, and, with 22 sail of the line, a number of small vessels, and 6000 soldiers, appeared at the mouth of the river with great suddenness. Some British vessels, being surprised, fell into his hands,

and on September 13 he landed half his force at Beaulieu. Some of Prevost's regiments had been scattered among distant outposts in Georgia, and in the island of Port Royal; but they were hastily called in on news arriv-



GENERAL CHARLES C. PINCKNEY.

ing of the appearance of the French fleet. On reaching the town of Savannah, D'Estaing summoned the place to surrender, and Prevost, to gain time, requested a suspension of hostilities for 24 hours, which was

granted. By extraordinary efforts, the detachment from Port Royal arrived in the interval, and Prevost then informed the French commander that he would defend the town to the utmost. When the whole of his detachments had reached him, he had under his orders an army of nearly 2000 men. The forces under D'Estaing had by this time been joined by those of General Lincoln, Colonel M'Intosh, and Count Pulaski. Heavy artillery and stores were brought up from the fleet, and on September 23 the siege began. For several days a scathing fire was poured upon the walls, not only from the batteries erected by the besiegers, but from a floating battery in the river. Yet no sensible effect was produced, and Savannah showed no sign of yielding.

D'Estaing was disappointed, and, what was worse, he was placed in a position of no little danger. The tempestuous season was on the eve of setting in; it was not improbable that an English fleet might be sent against him, or might imperil the conquests which he had recently made in the West Indies; and a further stay in the Savannah became unadvisable, unless the town could be taken. The besiegers accordingly determined to make an attempt at storming the place. On the morning of October 9, 3000 French, and half that number of Americans, advanced in three columns to the assault, under cover of a heavy bombardment. They met with a resolute resistance; but the attacking force pressed on, broke through the *abatis*, crossed the ditch, and mounted the parapet. Pulaski and 200 horsemen, inspired by a desperate valor, dashed between the batteries towards the town; but the heroic Pole fell mortally wounded, and the squadron broke. After a sanguinary struggle, lasting fifty minutes, the besiegers were driven from the works. Both the French and the Americans, but especially the former, lost a large number of men, nearly 1000, and, as the

9 THE LAST CHARGE AND DEATH OF PULASKI. 129

siege was now quite hopeless, it was abandoned, and the armies left their ground on the evening of October 18.

The Americans recrossed the Savannah into South Carolina, and the French hurriedly embarked on board their ships and left the coast; thus deserting us when their help was most needed.

The general disappointment felt at the collapse of this enterprise was in some slight degree mitigated by a daring and clever feat executed by Colonel White, of Georgia. On the night of September 30, accompanied by only six volunteers, he made such an appearance of strength, by the lighting of numerous fires in different places, and by other artifices, that he induced a British captain, posted near the River Ogeechee under protection of five vessels, to surrender, with 141 men, who were all secured, and conducted to the American post at Sunbury, 25 miles off. The exploit was much to the credit of Colonel White; but it did not reconcile us with the failure at Savannah. With the raising of the siege of Savannah the campaign of 1779 virtually closed.

Siege of Charleston (March 29 to May 12, 1780).—Clinton was resolved not to let the winter season be entirely one of rest. He could do nothing in the North, where the extreme cold prevented active operations. He determined to gain possession of Charleston, which would give him a hold over all that part of the Union. He sailed from New York on December 26, but did not reach Savannah, which was to be his base of operations, until the end of January, 1780, owing to the stormy weather which prevailed, and the interruption of the American cruisers, which managed to capture some of the transports and store-ships. Clinton was convoyed by Admiral Arbuthnot, "with a naval force competent to the purpose, and which was superior to anything in the American seas."

General Lincoln had but a small and ill-regulated force at his disposal, and, to increase its weakness, the several divisions were scattered in various places.

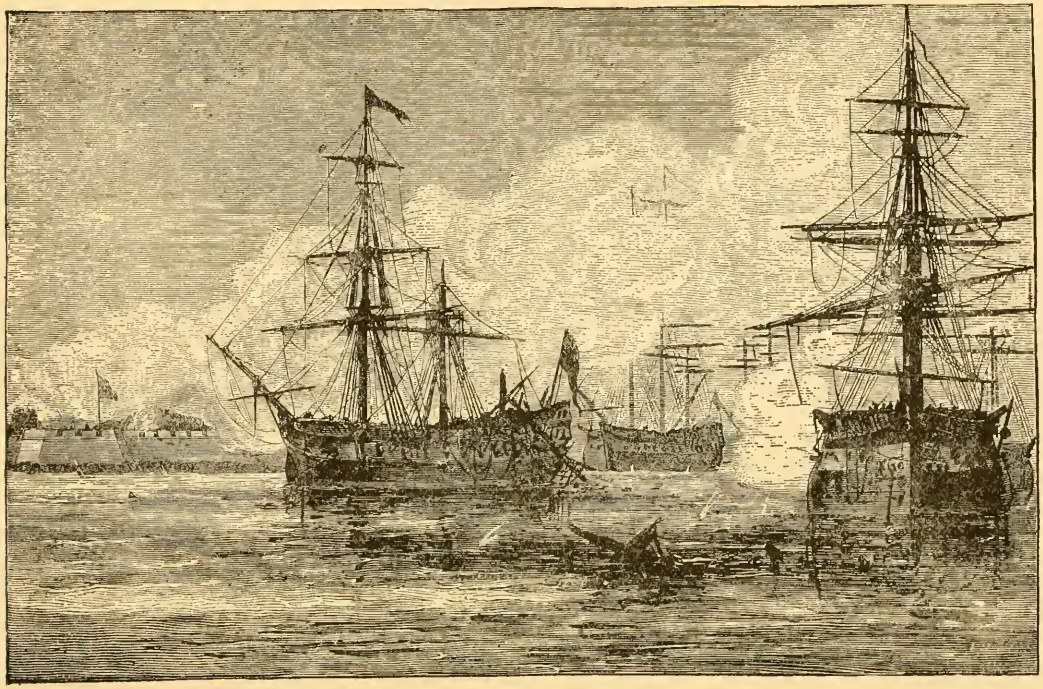
After repairing the injuries to his army and fleet at Savannah, Clinton proceeded north, and landed on St. John's Island, thirty miles south of Charleston, on February 11. Thence he moved to the island of St. James, sending forward part of his fleet to blockade the harbor of Charleston, and advancing cautiously until the reinforcements which he had ordered should arrive. This slowness of approach gave Rutledge and Lincoln time to repair the fortifications of the town, and to take other military measures. Elaborate works of defence were thrown up in front of the city, and between the Rivers Ashley and Cooper: and Lincoln hoped that, if he could delay the besiegers for a little while, reinforcements would arrive from the main body of the Continental army, and compel the enemy to abandon his attempt. The fortifications were constructed under the direction of M. Laumoy, a French engineer in the American service, and they compelled Clinton to make his approaches in regular form. Clinton did not hasten his advance, but erected forts and formed magazines at proper stations as he proceeded, and secured his communications with those forts and with the sea. On April 1 Clinton arrived before the walls of Charleston, and on the 9th Admiral Arbuthnot anchored within reach of its seaward guns. The American naval force, under Commodore Whipple, retired before the British fleet, and his vessels, being obviously incapable of resistance, were dismantled, and made to contribute, by their artillery and seamen, to the land defences of the beleaguered city. When Clinton had finished his first parallel, which was on the day of Arbuthnot's arrival with the fleet, and had mounted his guns, he summoned General Lincoln to surrender the town.

Lincoln refused to forsake his charge, and his adversary at once opened fire.

Rutledge and half of his council now took advantage of the country to the north being still open, and left the city, that they might carry on the government of the State elsewhere, and might at the same time rouse the local militia. Posts of militia were established between the Cooper and the Santee, to cover the retreat of the Charleston garrison, if they should be obliged to retire; but Clinton blocked up that avenue, by directing Tarleton and a corps of light dragoons to dislodge the American posts beyond the Cooper. That officer was conducted during the night of April 14, by a negro slave, through unfrequented paths to the scene of action, where, suddenly bursting upon the astonished Carolinians, he killed or captured several and dispersed the rest. The arrival of Cornwallis, with 3000 men, from New York, on April 18, and the entrance of the fleet into the harbor, had enabled the enemy to strengthen the troops which had been engaged in cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and prevented the completion of the works which Lincoln had commenced.

Charleston was now completely invested, the second parallel was completed, and the spirits of the garrison began to decline. An evacuation was talked of; but the idea was soon abandoned as impracticable. The investing lines were soon after strengthened, and, on April 21, terms of capitulation were offered, but rejected. A third parallel was commenced, and the despairing garrison made a sortie, but without any important results.

On May 7 the garrison of Fort Moultrie, where the works had been suffered to fall into decay, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, immediately on being summoned to do so by Admiral Arbuthnot. The cavalry which had escaped, and which had by this time reas-



THE BRITISH FLEET IN CHARLESTON HARBOR.

sembled, were again surprised and defeated by Tarleton on two occasions; and the condition of the defenders of Charleston was now so forlorn and hopeless—the troops being exhausted by incessant duty, many of the guns dismounted, and the supplies of food almost consumed—that terms of capitulation were once more proposed on May 8, but without success, as, in the opinion of Clinton, too many concessions were required. Knowing the town was in his power, he could afford to wait. The batteries of the third parallel did terrible execution. Shells and carcasses, in one unresting storm, were thrown into several parts of the town, and many houses were set on fire. The besiegers' works were within 100 yards of the walls; and, in addition to the cannon and mortars, the rifles of the Hessian Chasseurs produced such effect that few escaped who showed themselves above the lines. The American engineers had declared that the lines could not be defended ten days longer; and when, on May 11, the British crossed the wet ditch by sapping and draining, and commenced preparations for a general assault by sea and land, a panic seized on all within the town.

The garrison and the inhabitants—with such slender defences, so poorly supplied with stores and provisions, and so feebly supported by the militia of South Carolina—performed wonders; and after the surrender their gallantry elicited the admiration of the enemy who had overpowered them. At length their provisions failed, and rice, coffee, and sugar were the only food of the garrison. The intelligence of this fact soon reached the enemy's camp. A shell, filled with rice and sugar, and thrown into the town, soon attracted the attention of the garrison, because it did not explode, and told, in terms of ridicule, that its distress was known to the enemy; when, in a spirit of proud defiance, the same shell, filled with hog's lard and sulphur (itch ointment),

was thrown into the Scotch regiments, in the parallels, inviting them, in contemptuous terms, to employ that remedy to cure their traditional national infirmity.

Some of the militia threw down their arms; others begged of General Lincoln to accept Clinton's terms; the civilians were clamorous for a surrender, and the Patriot commander, after enduring the siege for forty days and suffering a terrible bombardment, signified his readiness to accept the conditions of the stronger. A capitulation was signed on the next day, and Charleston passed into the possession of the British troops.

Clinton stipulated that the town and fortifications, the shipping, artillery, and all public stores, were to be given up as they then were; but, as regarded the surrender of the troops, the garrison were to march out of the town, and lay down their arms in front of the works, and were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged.

The Patriot loss was 92 killed and 146 wounded, and about 20 of the inhabitants were killed in their houses. The enemy's loss was 76 killed and 189 wounded.

CAMDEN (August 16, 1780).—Georgia having been subdued, the war was renewed in South Carolina. Charleston, as we have seen, was attacked by land and sea, and after sustaining a siege of 40 days, and a terrible bombardment, was forced to surrender. Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis, the ablest of the English officers, in command. Gates, "the conqueror of Burgoyne," assumed command of the troops, and marched to meet Cornwallis near Camden.

The forces under Gates were composed chiefly of militia—those from Virginia numbered 800 men under General Stevens, and those from North Carolina 2100 men, under General Caswell; besides which he had Colonel Armand's Legion of Regulars, about 120 men; the Maryland line and the Delaware regiment—the

latter the well-known "Blue hen's chickens," numbering about 900 men; about 70 volunteer cavalry; and nearly 100 artillerymen—in all about 4100 men, exclusive of Captain Sumter's command, of whom 3052 were "present, fit for duty." The British had 122 officers, and 2117 men, commanded by Cornwallis, who left Charleston for that purpose.

Each party, ignorant of the intended movement of his adversary, had fixed upon ten o'clock in the evening to begin a night attack. The strictest silence was enjoined upon the troops, and orders were given to put to death, instantly, any "soldier who offered to fire without the command of his officer." Singularly too, the same silence that had been imposed on the Patriots had been ordered on the British troops, and thus the columns unexpectedly encountered each other in the woods. After some sharp skirmishing the armies waited for day.

At daybreak Gates attempted to make some change in the disposition of the troops. The experienced eye of Cornwallis at once perceived the advantage which Gates was tendering to him, and promptly seized that moment to begin the attack by ordering his veteran troops to charge the moving mass of militia in their front. The result of such a combination of untoward circumstances ensued, and, after a single, harmless fire, the militia, forming the centre and left wing of the Patriot line, threw away their arms and sought safety in a shameful and precipitate retreat, which no authority could check, no entreaty overcome. One regiment of the North Carolina troops which formed the right of the centre, alone remained on the ground; and these, for a short time, with the right wing, under the veteran De Kalb, gallantly resisted every effort of Lord Rawdon, and maintained their ground. At length De Kalb, at the head of one of the regiments, made a vigorous charge

on the enemy, but fell, after having received eleven wounds; and was subsequently taken prisoner. A few minutes afterwards, by a united charge of the cavalry and the foot, the little remnant of the Patriots, no longer sustained by the presence and great example of their general, gave way before superior numbers, and abandoned the unequal contest.

So closely were the troops pursued, that no attempt could be made to rally them. "Never was a victory more complete, or a defeat more total. Every corps was broken and dispersed through the woods."

Our loss on this disastrous field was never accurately ascertained. The noble Delaware regiment was nearly annihilated; its survivors, consolidated into the skeleton of two companies, under Captain Kirkwood, remaining a living monument of the determined obstinacy with which it maintained its position. Of the regulars, probably about 650, in the aggregate, were killed, wounded, and taken; of the North Carolina militia about 100 were killed and wounded, and about 300 (63 of them being wounded) were taken prisoners; only three of the Virginia militia were wounded. The enemy lost 68 killed, 245 wounded (including several officers), and 11 missing. 13 pieces of artillery, 22 ammunition wagons, 2000 stand of arms, 200 wagons, the greater part of all the baggage, all the stores, and 80,000 musket-cartridges were among the spoils of the victory.

All organized resistance to British rule now ceased in the South. The defeat at Camden closed the public military services of General Gates, and proved the unsoundness of his pretensions as a military commander.

Cowpens (January 17, 1781).—General Greene, who was appointed on December 3, 1780, to succeed Gates, found the army to consist of only 2000 half-clothed, half-starved men, without discipline or supplies, and

without means of obtaining even the necessaries of life. Ragged and barefooted, many of these unfortunate creatures were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. Some weeks before, Greene had written to Reed that they were living upon charity—subsisting upon daily contributions. To Washington he said that his militiamen were as ragged and naked as the Virginia negroes. Yet their militiary conduct was admirable, and the firm discipline of Greene was visible throughout the ranks. Not a sentinel was lost by desertion; not a murmur was heard from any one.

He detached General Morgan, with about 600 men, to take post in the country, and to check the enemy's foraging parties, while he with the main body threatened Camden.

Cornwallis was at Winnsborough, waiting for reinforcements from Charleston; and Morgan's activity in checking the organization of Tories induced him to seek safety in an attempt to cut off the audacious intruder. Tarleton was therefore ordered on January 1 to oppose the movements of Morgan. With a force of over 1000 men on the morning of the 16th, he took possession of an advantageous position in Morgan's neighborhood.

Tarleton's movements had been reported to Morgan, and, having refreshed his men, preparations were made for the action. His numbers were not quite equal to those of Tarleton, but his troops were fresher. There, on the morning of January 17, he was attacked by the English colonel, who, advancing with his usual impetuosity, seemed to be on the eve of another striking triumph. The first and second lines of the Patriots were speedily thrown into confusion; but retreating to the top of a hill, they rallied, and calmly awaited the British. The latter, exhausted by their previous work, ascended the hill in some disorder, when the Patriots, headed by Colonels Washington and Howard, charged

their scattered ranks with so much vehemence and fury that they gave way at all points, and were pursued to the bottom of the hill. The cannon were taken, and the greater part of the infantry laid down their arms. The rest escaped, after a final and desperate charge by Tarleton at the head of 40 horsemen. Ten commissioned officers, and 100 privates, had been killed on the side of the British; the wounded were still more numerous; and the seizure of artillery, muskets, and stores, was considerable. The Patriot loss was comparatively slight, while the gain to the cause was even greater than it appeared at first.

Cornwallis was vexed and astonished at the result of this action; but, although the partial destruction of Tarleton's detachment had seriously reduced his forces, he determined to make a vigorous effort to retrieve his fortunes.

It was said that what Bennington was to Burgoyne, in the North, the Cowpens were to Cornwallis, in the South, the source of untold mischief, and the precursor of disaster and defeat.

GUILFORD (March 15, 1781).—General Greene was now joined by Morgan and conducted the retreat. Reinforcements from Virginia and North Carolina reached the camp, and on March 13 his force—including 161 cavalry, and 1490 Continentals—numbered 4404 men. On the 14th, he moved to Guilford Court House, within eight miles of Cornwallis's camp, and offered battle; and despatched Colonel Lee, with the Legion, as an advance-guard, on the road to the camp, some three miles from the main body.

On the 15th, Cornwallis moved from his position, "to meet Greene on the way, or attack him in his camp."

Taking the road, with Tarleton in the van, and the brigade of guards in his rear, he was met by Lee, who,

after skirmishing with the advance guard for some distance, suddenly turned on it and cut to pieces a section of Tarleton's dragoons; pursued and drove it into the light infantry of the Guards, who followed it; and, following the advantage, inflicted a heavy blow on the latter, and compelled his lordship to move the Welsh Fusilleers to support the advance and repel the assailants. The captain of the Guards and about 30 of the enemy, fell in this attack; while Lee and his party, after winning golden opinions, even from their opponents, retired with but little loss; and the enemy approached the position occupied by General Greene.

The militia fled at the first fire, but the Continental regulars fought as in the time of De Kalb, with great firmness and resolution. The Patriots at last retired, but the British had bought their victory so dearly that Cornwallis also retreated. Greene again pursuing, Cornwallis shut himself up in Wilmington. Thereupon Greene turned into South Carolina, and, with the aid of Marion, Lee, Sumter, and Pickens, nearly delivered this State and Georgia from the British. Cornwallis refused to follow Greene into South Carolina, and moved north into Virginia. This engagement closed the long and fiercely-fought contest at the South.

The Patriot loss was 87 killed, 181 wounded, and 1035 missing. The loss of the enemy was 99 killed, 406 wounded (among whom were Generals O'Hara and Howard, and Colonel Tarleton), and 26 missing.

The only advantage Cornwallis secured was the field of battle, the heavy loss he had experienced rendered the relative strength of the two armies more advantageous to the Patriots. The great abilities of Greene, in bringing on this engagement, were soon apparent in the speedy retreat of Cornwallis from his dearly-bought position, leaving behind him about 70 of his wounded, and in the pursuit which was immediately commenced

by the Patriots, and continued until the enemy had found safety on the right bank of the Deep River.

THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN (September 28 to October 19, 1781).—The enemy, still anxiously seeking to establish his power in the Southern States, had sent the traitor, Arnold, to Virginia, with a strong detachment of troops to co-operate with Cornwallis, who was busily engaged in measuring his strength and skill with General Greene. Lafayette was sent to check Arnold, but, with his small force, could accomplish little. Reinforcements from France were now hopefully waited for. Count de Grasse, with a strong fleet from the West Indies, was expected in a few weeks. A conference between Washington and Count Rochambeau was held, and plans of the campaign were discussed and determined upon.

It was resolved to attack New York; and, in accordance with these plans, the allied forces of America and France moved against that city. Every necessary preparation had been made for the commencement of active operations, when, on August 14, Washington received a letter from De Grasse, saying that the entire French West Indian fleet, with more than 3000 land forces, would shortly sail from St. Domingo for the *Chesapeake*, intimating, however, that he could not remain longer than the middle of October, when it would be necessary for him to be at his station again. As this limited time would not permit the necessary operations against New York, the whole plan was changed, and it was resolved to proceed to Virginia, with the whole of the French troops and as many of the Americans as could be spared from the defence of the posts on the Hudson; and instead of besieging Clinton, in his headquarters in New York, a movement against Cornwallis, and the powerful detachment under his command, was resolved on.

Washington, by a feint on New York, kept Clinton in the dark regarding his plans until he was far on his way south with the Continental army.

The troops with which Washington moved to the South, embraced all the French auxiliaries, led by Count Rochambeau; the light infantry of the Continental army, led by Colonel Alexander Scammel; detachments of light troops from the Connecticut and New York State troops; the Rhode Island regiment; the regiment known as "Congress's Own," under Colonel Hazen; two New York regiments; a detachment of New Jersey troops; and the artillery, under Colonel John Lamb; numbering, in the aggregate, about 2000 Americans and a strong body of French. It is said that the American troops, who were mostly from New England and the Middle States, marched with reluctance to the southward, showing "strong symptoms of discontent when they passed through Philadelphia," and becoming reconciled only when *an advance of a month's pay, in specie*—which was borrowed from Rochambeau for that purpose—was paid to them.

The allies, having thus successfully eluded the watchfulness of the enemy in New York, pressed forward towards Annapolis and the Head of Elk, whither transports had been despatched from the French fleet to convey them to Virginia; and on September 25 the last division reached Williamsburg, where, with Lafayette and his command, and the auxiliary troops, the entire army had encamped.

In the mean time, the enemy, as well as the French auxiliaries, had not been inactive. Cornwallis, vainly expecting reinforcements from New York, had concentrated his army at Yorktown and Gloucester, on opposite sides of the York River, and had been busily employed in throwing up strong works of defence, and preparing to sustain a siege.

Admiral de Grasse, with a naval force of 26 sail of the line and some smaller vessels, sailed from St. Domingo on August 5; on the 30th he entered the Chesapeake and anchored at Lynn Haven; on the following day he had blockaded the mouths of the James and York Rivers, and *prevented the retreat of the enemy by water;* and, notwithstanding the absence of about 1900 of his men, besides three ships of the line and two fifties, with their crews, had gone out and fought with the British Admiral, Graves, and his 19 sail of the line. General St. Simon, at the head of 3300 French troops, had been landed from the fleet on September 2; joined General Lafayette on the third; and, on the fifth, with the latter officer and his command, had moved down to Williamsburg, 15 miles from York, and *cut off the retreat of the enemy by land.* Admiral Barras, with his squadron and ten transports, having on board the siege artillery and a large body of French troops, sailed from Newport on August 25, and entered Lynn Haven Bay in safety on September 10, while De Grasse was absent in engagement with Admiral Graves.

The enemy's fleet, overawed by the combined fleets of De Grasse and Barras, had returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis and his army to the fortunes of war; and enabling the naval force of the allies to co-operate with the military in all the operations of the siege. General Heath remained in the vicinity of New York to protect the passes in the Highlands, and to check any movement which Clinton might make for the relief of Cornwallis.

Cornwallis had 7000 troops with which to encounter the army that was being drawn about him. His only chance was in extending his defensive works, and thus making an assault almost impossible. By the end of September, he had erected at Yorktown seven redoubts and six batteries, connected by entrenchments, on the

land side; along the river was another line of batteries; and on each flank of the town were the natural defences of deep ravines and creeks, the heads of which, in front of the town, and at the point of junction with York River, were about half a mile apart, while along their course he had planted redoubts, field-works, and felled trees, with their branches pointing outwards. The channel of York River was obstructed by sunken vessels; ships of war were stationed under protection of the guns of the forts; and Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the river, was also strongly fortified. Such was the state of the defences when, on September 25, the greater number of the French and American troops encamped near Williamsburg. On the night of that day, Washington and his staff bivouacked on the ground in the open air. The Commander-in-Chief slept under a mulberry-tree, the projecting root of which served for his pillow. Next day, the allied armies took up positions on the two sides of Beaver Dam Creek; the Americans, who formed the right wing, occupying the east side—the French, to the left, covering the western bank.

A letter from Clinton reached Cornwallis on the evening of the 26th. It informed him of the arrival of Admiral Digby, who, with a fleet of 23 ships of the line, and above 5000 troops, would sail to his assistance about October 5. A heavy firing would be made by them on arriving at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and Cornwallis, if all went well at Yorktown, was to respond with three separate columns of smoke, or with four should he still possess the post at Gloucester Point. The feeling of despondency had not then set in, or at least was not yet avowed, though the general did not think his position a good one. That same night, Cornwallis abandoned his outworks, and drew his troops within the town. The outworks were next day seized

10 WASHINGTON FIRING THE FIRST GUN AT YORKTOWN. 145

upon by detachments of American light infantry and French troops, and proved serviceable in covering the men employed in throwing up breastworks. Counting Americans and French, Washington had now at his disposal an army of 12,000 men, exclusive of the Virginian militia. On the night of September 28, these combined forces encamped within two miles of Yorktown, and General de Choisy was sent across York River with a sufficient detachment to watch the enemy on the side of Gloucester Point. Very shortly the line of the besiegers (where the Americans still formed the right, and the French the left, wing) described a semicircle, each end of which rested on the river, thus completing the investment by land, while Count de Grasse kept guard towards the sea. On October 3, Choisy succeeded in cutting off all communication by land between Gloucester and the country.

The first parallel before Yorktown was commenced by General Lincoln on October 6. It was within 600 yards of the British lines, extending nearly two miles, and was begun during a very dark night with so much secrecy that Cornwallis's troops knew nothing about it until daylight. The fortifications then opened fire, but the men were by that time under cover, and continued working with great self-possession. In less than three days the parallel was completed, and on the afternoon of the 9th a few of the batteries were ready to fire upon the town. Washington himself put the first match to the first gun, and a furious discharge of cannon and mortars burst forth, producing a serious effect on the buildings against which it was directed. The batteries thus brought into play were soon aided by three others managed by the French; and the cannonade was kept up almost incessantly for three or four days. Many of the British guns were dismounted or silenced; several men were killed; and the fortifications suffered to a

serious extent. All day the air was laced by the black lines of shells crossing each other's paths; by night, the blackness changed into a brilliant and fiery red, filling the heavens with a glare as of innumerable meteors. The French batteries, which were to the northwest of the town, threw red-hot shot, and in this way set fire one night to a large English ship and three transports. The cavalry were greatly distressed for want of forage for their horses, and many of the animals were slain, and sent floating down the river. Moreover, an epidemic had broken out in the town, and hundreds were stretched helpless on their pallets. British and Hessians bore their hardships with great patience and courage, and everything was done that resolution and military knowledge could suggest. But the situation was desperate from the first, and it grew worse with time.

The second parallel was begun by Baron Steuben's division on the night of October 11. It was not more than 300 yards from the opposing works, and the British now made new embrasures, and for two or three days kept up a galling fire on the besiegers, who were still more seriously troubled by the flanking fire of two redoubts, which enfiladed the entrenchments, and were thought to command the communication between Yorktown and Gloucester. These it was resolved to storm on the night of the 14th; and, to avoid any jealousy between the two allied nationalities, it was arranged that the one farthest from the river should be attacked by a French detachment, and the other by a detachment of Americans under the command of Lafayette. The signal for the simultaneous assault was the sending up of rockets at eight o'clock in the evening. The Americans rushed up to the bastion they were to attack, pushed aside the *abatis* with their hands, and scrambled over the obstructions which stood in their way. With impetuous daring, the men mounted the parapet, and

without firing a musket, carried the work at the point of the bayonet. The French were equally successful with the other redoubt, which they attacked and which was defended with much obstinacy. In the end, the position was carried, though not without considerable slaughter. The struggle at both these redoubts was viewed by Washington with great anxiety from the grand battery, together with Generals Knox and Lincoln and their staffs. Taking his stand at an embrasure, he was open to the danger of chance shots, and one of his aides-de-camp pointed out that the situation was much exposed. "If you think so," replied Washington, "you are at liberty to step back." A few minutes afterward, a musket-ball came in at the opening, and fell close to the Commander-in-Chief. General Knox begged him to move; but he answered that it was merely a spent ball, and still remained at his post. When the redoubts were both taken, he drew a long breath of relief, and observing, "The work is done, and well done," called for his horse, and departed.

Howitzers were mounted next day on the two redoubts, and the works of the besiegers were thus strengthened, while those of the besieged were proportionately decreased. Cornwallis, who had been losing heart for some time, now wrote to Clinton that his situation was very critical; that he dared not show a gun to the old batteries, and that he expected new ones would be opened on the following morning. Experience had proved that the earthworks newly thrown up did not resist the powerful artillery of the allies; "so that we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers." The safety of the place was consequently so doubtful that he could not desire the fleet and army to run the risk of endeavoring to save them. The arrival of the promised fleet might, however, even then have turned

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the fortune of the day; but no sail appeared on the far-reaching waters that spread towards the Atlantic. In this extremity Cornwallis determined on making a sortie on the second parallel. On October 16, a little before day-break 350 men attacked two of the enemy's batteries, spiked eleven of the guns, and killed or wounded 100 of the French. But the cannon had been so hastily damaged that they were easily repaired, and by the evening of the same day the batteries of the second parallel were nearly ready. There was now no part of the whole front on which the guns were not dismounted; and the shells of the besieged were almost wholly expended. Cornwallis had therefore only to choose between preparing to surrender next day, and endeavoring to get off with the greater part of his troops. He determined on the latter course.

He planned to cross the river during the night with his effective troops; to leave behind him his sick, baggage, and other encumbrances; to attack the French officer who commanded on the Gloucester side; to mount his infantry, partly with the horses of the hostile cavalry, which he hoped to overcome, and partly with such animals as he might find by the way; to push on towards the fords of the great rivers in the upper country; and then, turning northward, to pass through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, and so join the army at New York. For the carrying out of this hazardous enterprise, 16 large boats were secretly prepared, and ordered to be in readiness to receive troops that night at ten o'clock. A detachment was appointed to remain behind, and conduct the capitulation for the townspeople, the sick, and the wounded; and a large number of the troops were transported to the northern bank of the river before midnight, without discovery. So far, the scheme had gone well; but, under the best of circumstances, it seems very improbable that it

should have succeeded. Between Yorktown and New York lay a wide extent of country; in the rear of the retreating army was an army greatly superior in number; and it is certain that the latter would have started in pursuit, and probable that it would have overtaken and defeated the fugitives, unless, as Cornwallis anticipated, the allies had directed their steps towards the south. He felt his position to be so desperate, and the thought of capitulating was so bitter, that he resolved to dare the utmost dangers of an almost hopeless attempt at extrication, rather than agree to a surrender before every means of avoiding it had been exhausted.

Up to the time when the first detachment of the British troops had landed at Gloucester Point, the night was calm and fine; but a storm then arose, scattering the boats in which the second division had already embarked, driving them a long way down the river, and putting a stop to the further transportation of the army. The boats were afterwards brought together again with some difficulty; but it was then too late to proceed with the enterprise, and, on the morning of the 17th, the first detachment was conveyed back across the river under a heavy fire from the American batteries. The guns of the second parallel were now playing in combination with those of the first. Great gaps were torn in the already crumbling defences of Yorktown; it was obvious that an assault would not be long delayed; and it could hardly be supposed that so small a garrison, exhausted by incessant labors, and many of them weakened by disease, could resist the onslaught of a numerous host. All hope, then, was at an end. The mortification of a surrender could no longer be avoided. The fate of Burgoyne was to be shared by Cornwallis. Both of them men of ability, honor, and courage, they had nevertheless placed themselves in positions from which escape was impossible; and to Corn-

wallis was reserved the additional misery of reflecting that so serious a blow, occurring a second time, would probably ruin the British cause in America beyond the possibility of redress.

A correspondence ensued to arrange the terms of surrender. Cornwallis required that the garrison, though laying down their arms as prisoners of war, should be sent home—the British to England and the Hessians to Germany—under an engagement not to serve against France, America, or their allies until exchanged. Washington declared these terms inadmissible, and sent a copy of the rough articles which had been prepared to Lord Cornwallis, with a note expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven o'clock on the 19th, and that the garrison would be ready to march out of the town within three hours afterwards. Finding all attempts to obtain more advantageous terms unavailing, Cornwallis yielded to the necessities of the case, and surrendered, with his entire force, military and naval, to the arms of the allies.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of October 19, the British troops marched out of Yorktown, with drums beating, muskets shouldered, and colors cased, to lay down their arms before the American and French army drawn out in two lines (the Americans on the right side of the road).

The ARMY, *with all its artillery, stores, military-chests, &c., was surrendered to General Washington;* the NAVY, *with its appointments, to the Admiral de Grasse.*

The terms were precisely similar to those which the enemy had granted to the garrison of Charleston, in the preceding year; and General Lincoln, the commander of that garrison, on whom the illiberality of the enemy then fell, was designated as the officer to whom the surrender should be made.

The reported losses were as follows: of the Americans there were 22 killed and 66 wounded; of the French, 50 killed and 136 wounded. The British loss was 156 killed, 326 wounded, and 73 missing.

Thus was Cornwallis driven to a surrender as humiliating as that at Saratoga. And it is remarkable that this surrender corresponds, almost to a day, with the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, four years earlier. This surrender destroyed the last hope of England's ever being able to subdue America. Exultation and gratitude broke forth from every heart when the news spread abroad. The cause of Independence was now regarded as won. The battles of the American Revolution had now all been fought. The American Colonies were irrevocably gone. A preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Paris in 1782, and in November, 1783, Britain reserved to herself on the American Continent only Canada and Newfoundland, and *acknowledged without reserve* the INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER IX.

The Revolutionary Battles on the Sea.

Machias (June 11, 1775).—The first naval action of the Revolutionary War, like the first land battle, originated and was carried out by *the people*, without any order from any Committee of Safety, Provincial Congress, or other body or officer of their creation.

To the harbor of Machias, a King's cutter, *Margaretta*, convoyed two sloops, to be freighted with lumber for the army at Boston. On Sunday, June 11, 1775, the Patriots of the town, aided by volunteers from Mispecka and Pleasant River, seized the captain of the sloops "in the meeting-house," and afterwards got possession of his vessels. The *Margaretta* did not fire on the town, but in the dusk of the evening fell down the harbor, and next morning proceeded on her voyage. She was pursued by Captain Jeremiah O'Brien and 40 men in one of the captured sloops, and by 20 others from Machias in a schooner; and being a dull sailor, she was soon overtaken. An obstinate sea-fight took place; the captain of the cutter was mortally wounded and six of his men were hurt, when after an hour's resistance, the British flag was struck, for the first time on the ocean, to Americans.

The exact loss, on either side, has not been recorded, but it is not likely to have exceeded 20 all told.

Fenimore Cooper appropriately said of this affair:

"It was the Lexington of the sea; for, like that celebrated land conflict, it was a rising of the people against a regular force, was characterized by a long chase, a bloody struggle, and a triumph." It was also the first blow struck on the water after the War of the American Revolution had actually commenced.

Had the result been different, Jeremiah O'Brien would have been classed as a pirate and a traitor, and his name handed down to everlasting ridicule and contempt. Treason, when *successful*, is never treason.

Loss of the Raleigh (September 27, 1778).—At seven in the morning of Friday, September 25, 1778, the United States frigate *Raleigh*, of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain John Barry, sailed from Boston, having a brig and a sloop under convoy.

About eleven o'clock two strange ships were seen about fifteen miles distant, which gave her chase. The *Raleigh* immediately hauled her wind to the northward, and night coming on, the chase was lost sight of. Early next morning the ships were again in sight, and continued the chase all day. On Sunday morning, the 27th, the chase was discovered to windward, coming down on the *Raleigh* with all sail set, when the latter immediately hauled her wind, steering about north by west, which was also done by the enemy.

In the afternoon the enemy's leading ship overhauled the *Raleigh;* and at five o'clock the engagement commenced. At the second fire, the *Raleigh* lost her foretop-mast and mizzentopgallant-mast, which gave her opponent a great advantage in manœuvering, yet the battle raged furiously until night-fall, and the *Raleigh* "had the advantage." At this time the enemy's sternmost ship came up and engaged her; and for half an hour longer the unequal conflict continued, when

Captain Barry wore ship, and made for the shore, with the intention of running aground.

Unfortunately, the enemy followed, and a running fight continued until two o'clock in the morning of the 28th, when the chase was shaken off, and the *Raleigh* succeeded in reaching the land.

It is said she ran aground on Fox's Island in Penobscot Bay; that the ship and 22 men were taken by the enemy; and that the remainder of the crew was saved. Her captors were the *Experiment*, Captain Wallace, of fifty guns, and the *Unicorn*, of twenty-two guns, the latter of which had ten men killed, and was greatly damaged, both in her hull and rigging. Our loss was 25 men killed and wounded.

THE HAWK AND THE PIGOT (October 25, 1778).—By the operations on Rhode Island, the destruction of the enemy's vessels, the command of the ferries, and other lines of communication between the island and the main, were secured to the inhabitants, much to the annoyance of the royal authorities. To close one of these points—the east passage—a fine stout schooner, of about two hundred tons, was procured; her upper deck removed; lower deck pierced for twelve eight-pounders, which had been removed from the *Flora*; strong boarding-netting carried around her bulwarks; and 457 men, under Lieutenant Dunlap, of the British Navy, placed on board. She was named the *Pigot*, in honor of the royal commander on Rhode Island, and, anchored near Howland's Ferry, at the mouth of the Seaconet, "she completely barred its entrance, and, for a long period, kept a sullen and undisturbed watch, greatly to the detriment of the island and the Patriot Army."

Against this vessel, on October 25, Major Talbot, with 45 men, and two three-pounders, left Providence on a small coasting-sloop called the *Hawk*. Soon after he

left the town, the wind died away, and he was compelled to anchor and remain there during that and the following days. On the night of the 26th the wind again favored the expedition, and it proceeded as far as the Taunton River, receiving, on its way, the fire of the enemy's battery at the Bristol Ferry. The wind being unfavorable for the new course which the sloop had to take, on the following morning Major Talbot went on shore, and, on horseback, proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy. He rode down until he came opposite the *Pigot*, when her position, equipments, &c., were carefully examined and noted, after which he returned to his vessel, and prepared for action. Fearing that his force was insufficient to accomplish his object, he applied to General Cornell for a reinforcement; and, about nine in the evening, after receiving an addition to his small party of 15 men and Lieutenant Helms, from the Rhode Island line, he weighed anchor, and sailed down the passage. When he approached the Fogland Fort he lowered his sails and drifted down under bare poles, securing his passage through that part of the channel without being discovered.

Having lashed a kedge-anchor on his jib-boom, and hoisted his sail again, he speedily neared the *Pigot*, was hailed, and made no answer. The sentries' muskets were then discharged at the *Hawk*, but, such was her headway, at half-past one on the morning of the 28th, before a cannon could be discharged by the schooner, she was alongside the *Pigot*; the anchor on her jib-boom had torn the netting from the bulwarks of the schooner, and had grappled her fore-shrouds; and Helms and his party of 15 men had gained her deck, sword in hand. A brisk fire was immediately opened on the *Pigot*, and her crew, terrified at the audacity of her assailants, begged for quarter and ran below, leaving the deck unoccupied. The crew of the *Hawk* im-

mediately passed over the bowsprit of the sloop and boarded the schooner; while Lieutenant Dunlap, her commander, in his shirt and drawers, rushed from his berth, and gallantly defended his vessel single-handed; but his bravery availed nothing, and, in a few minutes, his crew was safely secured in the hold of the vessel, her anchor was weighed, and, with the *Hawk*, she was on her way down the Narragansett Bay, neither party having lost a man.

On the following day the vessels reached Stonington in safety; whence the prisoners were marched, in triumph to Providence. "Congratulations, acknowledgements, and honors were proferred the bold leader in this enterprise from all quarters. The Assembly of Rhode Island presented him with a sword;" the "Congress of the United States presented its thanks, and a lieutenant-colonel's commission;" but, perhaps of all the compliments bestowed on the occasion, the one he received with the greatest relish was the character awarded him in the British report of the loss of the *Pigot*—"*One of the greatest arch-rebels in nature.*"

John Paul Jones was born in Scotland on July 6, 1747, and was the son of a market-gardener named Paul. Being accustomed to the sight of shipping from his childhood, he acquired in this way a passion for the sea. While yet a boy, he became a sailor in the merchant service, and went to America. An elder brother was married and settled in Virginia, where he became a planter. For a while he was in the slave trade; but his large humanity revolted at the business, and, devoting himself to trade with the West Indies, he became rich. At the opening of the Revolutionary War, he took his stand with the Patriots; and, on its being determined by Congress to fit up a naval force, Jones, then a vigorous young man of 28, was appointed first lieuten-

COMMODORE JOHN PAUL JONES.

ant of the *Alfred*, on board which ship he hoisted with his own hands, for the first time it had ever been displayed in a national ship, the flag of independent America. It bore the device of a pine tree with a rattlesnake coiled at its root.

Soon displaying the high qualities of seamanship and daring, he was put in command of the sloop *Providence*, carrying 12 guns and 70 men. During his first cruise of six weeks, he made 16 prizes. Appointed a captain in 1776, he was given command of the *Alfred*, and the year following of the *Ranger*, when he sailed to the British waters to revenge on the shores of his native land the injuries which British ships had inflicted on the coasts of his adopted country.

After staying for a while in the Solway Firth, close to the spot where he was born, he rowed with 31 volunteers, in two boats, to the coast of Cumberland, and in the harbor of Whitehaven, set fire to three vessels, and spiked a large number of cannon in the guard room of the fort. In the course of four weeks—at the end of which time he sailed for Brest—this daring seaman had destroyed 26 valuable ships, thrown the coasts of Scotland and Ireland into a fever of alarm, occasioned the Irish volunteers to be embodied, and compelled the English Government to expend a considerable sum of money in fortifying the harbors.

CAPTURE OF THE SERAPIS AND SCARBOROUGH (September 23, 1779).—During the summer of 1779, through the exertions of Benjamin Franklin, a squadron was fitted out in France, and the command given to Captain John Paul Jones. It consisted of the *Bon Homme Richard*—an old East Indiaman (which had been condemned and laid up as a hulk), mounting 6 old eighteen-pounders in the gun-room, 28 old twelve-pounders on her main-deck, and 8 six-pounders on her quarter-deck and forecastle; the *Alliance*—a fine Continental

frigate mounting 36 guns; the *Pallas*—a merchant ship carrying 32 guns; the *Vengeance*—a merchant brig carrying 12 guns; and the *Cerf*—a fine large cutter mounting 18 guns. The cost attending this squadron appears to have been borne in part by the French King, in part by the American Commissioners, and the remainder by a banker in Paris.

After cruising on the coast of Great Britain, and spreading terror among her people for several weeks, on September 23, 1779, while in company with the *Alliance* and the *Pallas*, Commodore Jones was cruising off Flamborough Head, on the coast of Yorkshire, England, and discovered a fleet of more than forty sail. From intelligence which the commodore possessed, he was convinced that this was the Baltic fleet, which was returning home under convoy of the *Serapis*, 44, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, 22 guns; and he prepared for attack. Perceiving from his movements, that the little squadron was an enemy, the commandant of the *Serapis* signalled to his consort to follow him, and hauled out to sea, until he had got to windward of his convoy, when he tacked and stood inshore again, to cover it, and enable it to find shelter near Scarborough.

Jones signalled his consorts to form a line, with the *Pallas* in the van, and the *Alliance* astern of the *Richard*, and to chase the enemy; but the insubordination of the captain of the *Alliance* frustrated all the plans, and he not only deprived the commodore of the assistance of that vessel, but endeavored to withdraw that of the *Pallas* also. Jones, notwithstanding this diminution of his force, stood steadily on, and, about seven o'clock, he came up with the *Serapis*, the *Countess of Scarborough* being a short distance to leeward.

The *Serapis* was a new, double-decked "forty-four," and was considered a fast sailer. She mounted twenty eighteen-pounders on her lower gun-deck, twenty nine-

pounders on her upper gun-deck, and ten six-pounders on her quarter-deck and forecastle; and her crew was a fine one of 320 men, commanded by Captain Richard Pearson.

The weather was clear, the surface of the sea unruffled, and, just as the *Richard* came within gun-shot of her opponent, the moon rose with unusual splendor, to reveal the terrible struggle which was about to open to the anxious spectators who had crowded on the edges of the cliffs, which, at that place, formed the coast of England. "What ship is that?" was asked by the captain of the *Serapis* as the *Richard* came up; and, "Come a little nearer and I will tell you," was the equivocal reply. "What are you laden with?" was the next inquiry; and the answer, "Round, grape, and double-head shot," hurled back a defiance on the self-conceited interrogator. A broadside from the *Serapis* immediately thundered in response, and the action began. The sea being smooth, Jones relied greatly on the six eighteen-pounders which had been mounted in the gun-room, but, at the first discharge, two of them burst, blowing up the deck above, and killing and wounding nearly all the men who were stationed at them. The four which remained were immediately abandoned, and the men who were stationed at them were posted elsewhere. The abandonment of these guns rendered the contest still more uneven, especially when, ten minutes later, the enemy ran out his eighteen-pounders on the lower deck, and opened that terrible fire which reduced the *Richard* to a perfect wreck before the close of the action. The *Richard*, having backed her topsails, exchanged several broadsides with her opponent, when she filled again, and shot ahead of her; upon which the latter luffed across the *Richard's* stern, pouring in a raking broadside, as she passed, and came up on the weather quarter of the latter, taking the wind

out of her sails, and in her turn passing ahead. While the *Serapis* was thus ahead of the *Richard*, she failed in an attempt to go down athwart the fore-foot of the latter, to rake her, and was obliged to put her helm hard down to keep clear of her. In this manner she lost some of her way, while the *Richard*, keeping on her course, and taking advantage of a fresh breeze which at that moment filled her sails, soon ran aboard of her, bows on, the jib-boom of the former passing between the starboard mizzen-shrouds and the mizzen-vang of the *Serapis*. The commodore immediately ordered the grappling-irons to be thrown out, and the boarders to stand by, but the chains attached to the irons were cut away by the enemy, and the vessels separated. As soon as she had obtained room to do so, the *Serapis* put her helm hard down, laid all aback forward, shivered her after-sails, and wore short round, with the intention, it is supposed, of luffing up athwart the *Richard's* bow, in order to rake her again. Perceiving the object of the enemy, and knowing his own weakness, Jones ordered the sailing-master of the *Richard* to lay the enemy on board again, when the helm was put hard-a-weather, and the *Serapis* laid athwart-hawse, the jib-boom of the latter passing through the mizzen-shrouds of the former. The *Richard's* grappling-irons were again thrown out; while the jib-stay of the *Serapis*—which had been cut away—was employed to make the latter fast to the mizzen-mast of the former. The pressure of the breeze on the after-sails of the *Serapis*, and the strain produced by the crew of the *Richard* by means of the trailings attached to their grappling-irons, soon caused the jib-boom of the former to give way, when the two ships dropped alongside of each other, head and stern, and the fluke of the spare anchor of the *Serapis* hooking on the quarter of the *Richard*, they were firmly secured, so near to each other that the muzzles of their guns

touched each other's sides. During all this time the cannonade continued with great fury, and both vessels suffered severely. A strong force having been placed in the *Richard's* tops, and a constant fire maintained therefrom, the men in the tops of the *Serapis*, as well as those on her quarter-deck and forecastle, suffered very severely.

Soon after the vessels had been lashed together, it was seen that the current was carrying them in shore, and the *Serapis* dropped her anchor, with the hope that the *Richard* would drift clear of her. But this hope was not realized, and as the vessels slowly turned to the tide, the enemy attempted to board the *Richard*, but were repulsed. Each party speedily followed in similar attempts to board, but neither succeeded although many lives were lost in the several attempts.

At this time the vessels, firmly secured to each other, laid at anchor in about ten fathoms of water. They had been engaged about three-quarters of an hour, and, with increased fury, the conflict continued. The tops of the *Serapis* had been cleared, and the crews of her quarter and main decks were falling rapidly before the fire of the *Richard's* topsmen, and before the hand-grenades which were thrown among them. The greater part of her guns, from the position of the *Richard*, had been rendered useless, four only, on her starboard bow —two eighteen-pounders on her lower gun-deck, and two nine-pounders on her upper gun-deck—being effective. The *Richard*, also, had suffered severely, both in her hull and in the ranks of her crew, and she, too, had but two or three of her small guns in use on her upper deck. Her crew had mostly abandoned the lower decks to escape the fire of the *Serapis;* and through the port-holes, with lances, pikes, pistols, and grenades, they attacked the enemy's crew. The singular spectacle was thus presented of our forces commanding the upper deck and the tops of the *Serapis*, and

driving the men therefrom; while, at the same moment, the enemy was tearing the *Richard's* lower deck to pieces, and forcing her crew to seek shelter in her forecastle and on her upper decks.

In this singular condition the battle raged furiously, until some of the light sails on the *Serapis* took fire, which spread to the rigging, and thence to the *Richard's* tops, when the firing ceased, and the crews of both ships joined in combating their new enemy. After some time spent in this manner the fire was extinguished, and, immediately afterwards, the battle was renewed. A dozen times was this scene repeated—alternately combating each other, and the flames, which threatened destruction to both.

Thus hour after hour this unparalleled conflict continued, one having resolved to conquer, the other not to be conquered. At length, at half-past nine o'clock, one of those sudden dispensations of Providence, which no one can foresee, scattered the crew of the *Serapis* from her main-deck, and gave us the victory. Some time previous, one of the *Richard's* topsmen had passed over to the main-top of the *Serapis* with a match and a bucket filled with grenades, where he employed himself in dropping these combustibles among the crew beneath him. At the same time the powder-boys, on the main-deck of the *Serapis*, had brought the cartridges up from the magazine faster than they had been used, and a row of them had been laid on the deck, parallel with the guns. One of the grenades struck the combings of the upper hatchway, and, glancing off, fell among the cartridges. By its explosion the cartridges were ignited, and the flash, passing from one to another, from abreast the mainmast to the extreme after part of the ship, the whole were discharged among the crew with terrible effect. More than 20 men were instantly killed, and 38 wounded.

This disaster, while it served to discourage the enemy, increased the hopes and rendered more active the exertions of the *Richard's* crew. At this moment the *Alliance*, which had been hovering around the combatants, came within gunshot, to the windward of the ships, and opened an indiscriminate fire on friend and foe alike. Keeping away a little, she soon reached the larboard quarter of the *Richard*, and it is asserted by some that her fire was continued until she got nearly abeam of that vessel. For some time this singular conduct was continued, and it was not until the signals of recognition was hoisted that the firing discontinued. Soon afterwards the crew of the *Richard* was alarmed with the report that the ship was sinking, and several hundred British prisoners, who had been confined below, were set at liberty by the master-at-arms. The confusion which was thus produced was heightened by a report that all the officers had been killed; and the gunner, supposing himself to be the senior officer, hurried on deck and called for "quarter." Captain Pearson, of the *Serapis*, hearing the joyful sound, hailed the *Richard*, and inquired if she had surrendered, when the commodore undeceived him, and throwing his pistol at the gunner, severely wounded him.

The prisoners who had been liberated were set to work at the pumps; and the crew of the *Richard* appeared to feel, more than ever, determined to conquer. A few more guns were brought to bear—one of them, loaded with double-headed shot, directed by the commodore in person, was especially directed against the mainmast of the *Serapis*—and increased exertions were put forth on every side. At length, at about half-past ten o'clock, Captain Pearson of the *Serapis* struck her colors with his own hand, none of his crew daring to expose themselves for that purpose.

As soon as it was known that the *Serapis* had surren-

dered, Lieutenant Richard Dale passed on board and took possession of the prize; while Captain Pearson and his officers passed over to the *Richard*, and surrendered their swords to the commodore. In doing so Captain Pearson remarked, "It is with great reluctance I am obliged to resign my sword to a man who may be said to fight with a halter about his neck." Some have supposed this was intended as an insult to the commodore, but, if it was so, it signally failed, the latter simply replying, "Sir, you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt your Sovereign will reward you for it in the most ample manner."

While this conflict was raging, the *Pallas* attacked the *Countess of Scarborough*, and, after a severe action of two hours, captured her.

As soon as Lieutenant Dale had received a prize-crew on the *Serapis*, the lashings were cut, and the *Richard* slowly drifted away, the prize following her as soon as her cable could be cut.

Thus terminated one of the most desperate struggles which the world ever witnessed; but a new danger now presented itself. The *Richard* was both sinking and on fire; and it was owing to the assistance of men sent from the other vessels of the squadron, that she was preserved long enough to secure the removal of the wounded and her crew. An examination showed that abaft, on a line with the guns of the *Serapis* which had been employed after the vessels had been lashed together, her timbers and siding had been entirely demolished, a few futtocks, which remained, being the only support of her poop and upper deck. Her rudder had been cut from her stern post; her transoms had been nearly driven out of her; the flames, which had got within her ceiling, had extended so far as to menace the magazine; and the pumps, by constant use, could barely keep the water at the same level. After securing those who were on

board, about nine o'clock on the morning of September 25, the officer who had charge of her, with his crew, took to their boats; and, at ten o'clock, the *Bon Homme Richard* settled slowly into the sea, bows foremost, and disappeared.

The *Scrapis* had suffered much less than the *Richard*, probably in consequence of the guns of the latter having been lighter and sooner silenced; yet she lost her main and mizzen masts and her fore top-mast, immediately after the ships had been separated, and was taken as a prize into Holland under jury-masts.

The loss of life was also unusually severe, although there appears to be great uncertainty respecting its exact extent. It has been said by a well-informed writer to have amounted, on the *Richard*, to 165 *killed*, and 137 *wounded and missing;* while that on the *Scrapis* is supposed to have been nearly, if not quite, equal to that on her opponent—the same well-informed author stating that she lost 137 *killed*, and 76 *wounded.*

By this exploit Paul Jones was enabled to effect the release of the American prisoners in England, who were exchanged for the officers and seamen taken with the two frigates. The naval battles of this able and courageous sailor formed the commencement of a series of desperate achievements in which the United States gathered great renown.

CHAPTER X.

The War of 1812–1815.

Immediately upon President Jefferson's inauguration he set to work reforming and retrenching. He reduced the army and navy to the most slender dimensions; jealousy of a standing army being a powerful sentiment with the early Democrats.

The struggle of Napoleon in Europe with the allied powers brought us into trouble. England had forbidden all trade with France, and France had in return forbidden all trade with England and her colonies. By these decrees all of our vessels sailing on the ocean were liable to capture. These decrees violated our neutral rights, and were calculated to destroy our commerce, which by this time had become quite imposing.

In 1807 Congress passed an Embargo Act, believing there was no other way to obtain redress from England and France. The promised results of this measure were not realized, and the law was repealed in 1809. It created dissatisfaction, particularly in New England.

England impressed American seamen on the plea that they were British subjects by birth, and could not free themselves from their allegiance, even though they made themselves citizens of another State. Measures of retaliation were loudly demanded. Safety was believed to be equally concerned in resistance to these English claims.

Jefferson had cut down the small fleet commenced by Washington and Adams; and the country now felt the evil effects of that mistaken economy. The few gunboats that had been built proved wholly inefficient, and our merchant ships had nothing to shield them from the naval power of England on the one hand, and France on the other.

Public opinion was exasperated to a pitch of fury when the British ship *Leopard* attacked the *Chesapeake*, killing some of the crew. The *Chesapeake*, being unprepared for action, struck her flag, and was boarded by the British captain, who took off four of her seamen, whom he declared were British subjects. Rage seized on the people when this action became known. Some demanded an immediate declaration of war against England. Since 1803 the British cruisers had captured 900 American vessels, and the injury to commerce was so great that the nation was threatened with pecuniary ruin. It was with difficulty that the Government could even moderate the indignation of the people, and it had become clear that war with England was inevitable.

On June 19, 1812, a formal declaration of war was made by the United States against England. The people were so enthusiastically in favor of the war that the proclamation declaring it was in several places received with illuminations and rejoicings, and the cities of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, passed resolutions approving the action of the Government, and pledging themselves to support it. Jefferson's economical policy was now abandoned, and bills were passed to enlist men, organize militia, and to equip and enlarge the navy. When we plunged into the 1812 war, England had more than 1000 vessels, manned by more than 144,000 sailors—the best in the world, and long accustomed to victory. We had barely 20 vessels of war of large size, carrying not more than 300 guns. A

number of gun-boats had recently been built, but they were required for defending the coast, and could not be counted on for service at any great distance.

Our army was an undisciplined body, officered by Revolutionary soldiers, too old to be efficient, and they were to meet the British regulars, the finest soldiers then in the world, animated with the spirit of Waterloo and the Spanish campaigns.

Still, upon the sea, we whipped England all around. Out of seventeen fights which occurred during the two years the war lasted, we *won thirteen.* "Don't give up the ship" was the battle-cry of the American sailor. On the land we did not fare so well.

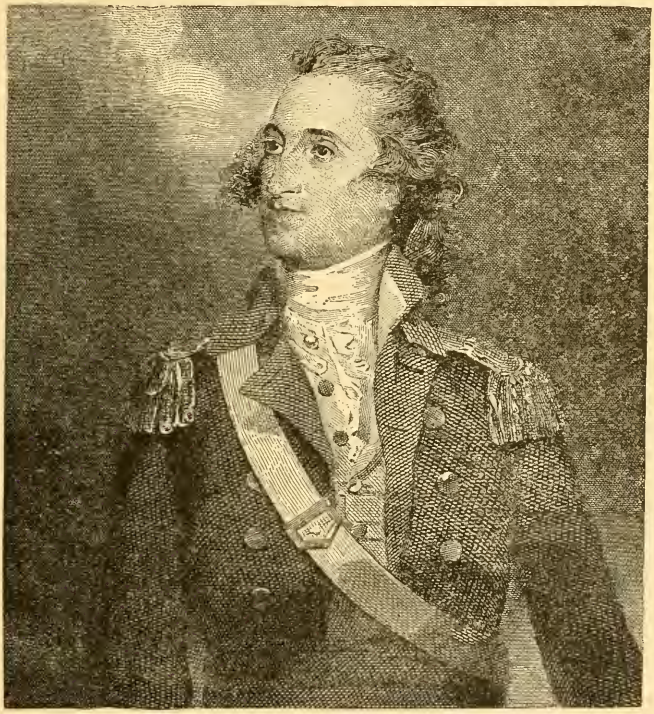
Every one felt that England would strike her hardest; the terrible sufferings of the States during the Revolutionary War were not yet worn out of the popular remembrance; and it was but too likely that these would be repeated if the country were not prepared to encounter the shock of a powerful foe, strong in arms and in the financial means which give to arms their greatest force and widest application. New York and New Orleans were seen to be among the most vulnerable positions, especially the latter city; and preparations were made for fortifying both.

We shall here first recount the story of the land battles. The selection of efficient officers was not a very easy matter. The greater number of the Revolutionary commanders had departed, and as there had been no war since 1783, except a few comparatively trivial encounters with the Indians, the country suffered from a want of officers with a practical knowledge of their profession. Nevertheless, sufficient old soldiers were found for the chief posts. The Commander-in-Chief was Henry Dearborn, a native of New Hampshire, who accompanied Arnold to Quebec in 1775, and who had served in the campaign which resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne. Thomas Pinckney was appointed Major-

General, and the principal brigadiers were James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, William Hull and Joseph Bloomfield—all of whom, like Dearborn, had been employed during the War of Independence. General Hull was Governor of Michigan (which had been organized as a Territory in 1805), and, when war was declared, was marching with about 2000 troops from Ohio for the subjugation of the hostile Indians. To him were confided discretionary powers for invading Canada, and he determined on attempting it. He crossed the border on July 12, but events soon showed that he was not equal to the task. Canada was at that time divided into two provinces—Upper and Lower Canada; and the population of the former, amounting to about 100,000, consisted principally of American loyalists who had left the Union at the close of the late war. Each of these provinces had its own regular military force, amounting to about 2000 men, scattered over a wide space; but the country did not present a good object of attack, because it was certain that the loyalists would do their utmost to resist invasion and avenge old wrongs. The British commanders at once called for volunteers, and made overtures to the Indians to act in alliance with them. A respectable force was presently in the field against General Hull, whose chance of success lay in pushing forward with the utmost expedition; instead of which he came to a full pause, and awaited the action of his adversaries.

While he was lying still, the British forces were increasing in number, and on July 17 they attacked Fort Mackinaw, a strong post in the Northwest, situated on an island near the Straits of Mackinaw, which was surprised and captured by an allied force of British and Indians; and on August 5 a detachment of the American forces, sent by Hull to escort an approaching supply-party to camp, was defeated near Brownstown, on the

Huron River. The garrison at Malden had now been reinforced by General Brock, the British Commander in Canada, and Hull thought it prudent to abandon the expedition. He re-crossed the river on August 7, and



GENERAL THOMAS PINCKNEY.

retired to Detroit, followed, two days later, by Brock, who appeared before the town at the head of 700 English soldiers and 600 Indians, and demanded the instant surrender of the place. Hull's position was now one

of extreme difficulty. His forces were not strong enough to defend so advanced a station, and, in the event of defeat, he was threatened with all the horrors of Indian vengeance. He is perhaps not to be too harshly blamed for giving up the town; but he was censured for commencing the expedition with insufficient means, and then remaining inactive when his only chance of safety lay in the most rapid and vigorous movements.

The fort of Detroit was held by the 4th Regiment, by the Ohio Volunteers, and by a part of the Michigan militia, placed behind the pickets in such a position that the whole flank of the British force was exposed to their fire. The remainder of the militia were stationed in the town, and two four-pounders, loaded with grape, were planted on an eminence, from which they could have acted with great effect on the attacking parties. A detachment of 400 soldiers, who were returning to Detroit, had by this time got sufficiently close to be able to attack the enemy in the rear; but Hull, dreading the Indian ferocity, resolved to make terms with the enemy. On the British columns arriving within 500 yards of our lines, he ordered the troops to withdraw into the fort, and the artillery not to fire. A white flag was displayed, negotiations were opened with the British, and a capitulation agreed upon, by which, on August 16, 1812, the army, fort, stores, and garrison, together with the Territory of Michigan, were surrendered to the British, much to their surprise.

Public indignation at this surrender was unbounded, and certainly not surprising. The army directed by Hull amounted to 2500 men (of whom, however, only 800 were effectives), while Brock had under his orders about 330 regulars, 400 militia, and 600 Indians. Hull acted entirely on his own volition; he called no council of his officers; and came to his determination solely out of apprehension of the Indians. In 1814 he was brought

to trial by court-martial on a charge of treason, cowardice and neglect of duty. On the two latter accusations he was found guilty and sentenced to be shot; but in consideration of his services during the Revolutionary war his life was spared.

Another lamentable event occurring near the head of Lake Michigan contributed another element of a disheartening nature to the circumstances of this period. Hull had sent orders to Captain Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn, on the site of the present city of Chicago—a position which he occupied with fifty regulars. At the command of his superior officer he quitted that post and proceeded to Detroit, leaving the public property in charge of some friendly Indians. While moving along the shores of Lake Michigan, he was attacked by a hostile tribe of savages, and 26 of the regulars, and all the militia were killed, and a number of women and children were murdered and scalped. Those opposing the war prophesied all manner of evil, and for awhile exercised some influence over those who were inclined to hesitate. But the nation generally were inclined to carry on the war with spirit. The British army consisted of well-disciplined regulars, while we were obliged to create regiments on the spur of the moment, with all the necessary imperfection of raw levies.

In 1808 the regular troops did not number more than 3000. They now were fewer than 6000; the bulk of these had been raised since the beginning of the year.

The ill success of the first attempt only stimulated the people to fresh endeavors. Immediately after the capitulation of Detroit, 10,000 volunteers offered their services, and were marched toward the territory of Michigan under the direction of General Harrison, who had command of the Army of the Northwest, including the detachments that had been Hull's. Their strength was not sufficient, considering the imperfection of their

discipline, to effect more than a few incursions into the Indian lands; and the early winter of those northern regions surprised them before they had obtained any success.

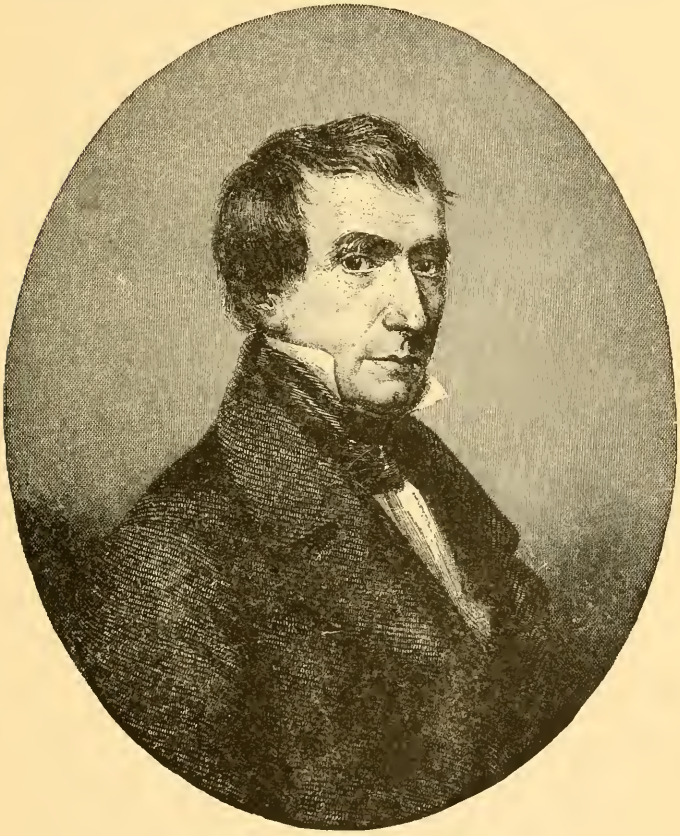
Another expedition into Canada was undertaken by General Van Rensselaer, of the New York Militia, who commanded the Army of the Centre. His force consisted of regulars and militia, when he drew up at Lewistown, on the Niagara, opposite a fortified British post on the heights of Queenstown. Colonel Van Rensselaer, a relative of the General, a man of courage and determination, crossed the stream on October 13, with a small detachment, who effected their landing under a heavy fire from the British. The colonel was wounded at the outset of the operations; but Captains Ogilvie and Wool led on their troops to the assault. The fortress was captured and the Americans now established themselves in so strong a position that when General Brock brought up a reinforcement of 600 men, they were repulsed with heavy loss, and among the killed was the commander himself. Here, however, the success of the attempt came to an end. A fresh detachment was conveyed over to the British side of the river; but the troops refused to obey their orders, and the British, being again reinforced, wrested the position from their adversaries, after a severe engagement, in which the Americans were almost destroyed, and the remainder driven across the stream. General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the inefficiency, and in some instances the cowardice, of his men, left the service, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth, of Virginia. That officer, on November 28, embarked 4500 men, with a view to crossing the Niagara. The appearance of the enemy on the opposite shore, however, was so menacing that the invasion was postponed until December 1, when it was finally determined, by a council of

12 ATTACK OF INDIANS AT FORT DEARBORN. 177

war, not to proceed any further with the enterprise. Almost equally unsuccessful was General Dearborn, of the Army of the North, who felt it expedient to retire after a few unimportant operations. Winter had now arrived—the long and terrible winter of Canada; and the period for active service had passed.

During the battle of October 13, a detachment of our troops, amounting to 1500, refused to cross the river, in aid of their comrades who were being cut to pieces before Queenstown Heights, on the plea that the war was properly only a defensive one, and that therefore it was not right to invade the enemy's dominions. Many of the *Federal* party applauded them for this determination, and in the Northeast the feeling against the war gathered force with every day. Adams did not share in this view, believing, on the contrary, that the struggle had been rendered necessary by the action of the British Government; but several of the New Englanders regarded the policy of Madison's Administration as unnecessary, unjust, and likely to prove highly injurious to the best interests of the country. The Governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut refused to allow the militia of those States to march to the northern frontier on the requisition of the President, alleging that such a requisition was unconstitutional. A menacing condition of opinion was noticeable over the whole of that quarter. The agitators met in convention, passed resolutions condemnatory of the Government, denounced the war with England, and proclaimed their preference for one with France. The body upholding these views was called the Essex Junto, from the locality where its members assembled. The difference between the North and South was due, not to any heresies as to the form of government, but to a divergence of interests on questions of foreign policy.

The British Government had by this time declared the whole American coast in a state of blockade, with the exception of the New England States—an exception dictated by the hope that those States might thus be won over to the British cause. Such an expectation



GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.
(*Afterwards President of the United States.*)

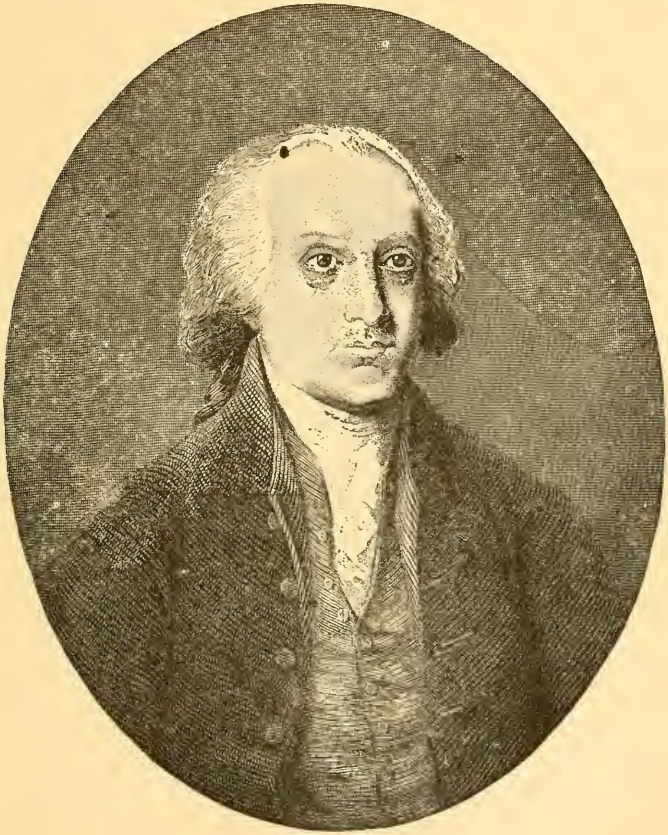
was doomed to disappointment, as the general feeling of the country held in check whatever tendency to a disloyal course may have existed in particular circles. The reverses which have been experienced on land were very much more than counterbalanced by successes at sea; as will presently be seen.

So eager were we to continue the war that the approach of winter was not suffered to suspend the operations of the armies. The recovery of Michigan was resolved on; companies were formed and equipped in a single day, and ready to march the next. Of course such hasty levies were not fitted for regular warfare; but in the first instance were employed in driving back the hostile Indians on the frontiers. General Harrison, in command of the Army of the Northwest, which was concentrated at the head of Lake Erie, took steps to relieve the frontier posts early in the autumn, and Isaac Shelby, a native of Maryland, but then Governor of Kentucky, led a strong force of youthful volunteers from the latter State towards the Canadian boundary lines. At this time, the Army of the Centre, which had recently been placed under Dearborn, was stationed on the banks of the Niagara, while that of the North, where Dearborn had been succeeded in the command by General Hampton, was planted on the borders of Lake Champlain. The chief officer of the English army, now that Brock was slain, was George Prevost.

For assistants, he had Colonel Procter in the direction of Detroit, and General Sheaffe in the vicinity of Montreal and the lower portions of Lake Champlain.

President Madison's determination to prosecute the war with vigor was seconded by Congress. The bounty and the wages of the soldiers were increased. The President was authorized to raise twenty additional regiments of infantry, and to borrow money; and provision was made for building four ships of the line, six

frigates, and as many vessels of war on the great lakes as the public service might require. Thus fortified,



PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON.

Harrison resolved on a winter campaign for the rescue of Michigan, and General Winchester was ordered to

proceed in advance to Frenchtown, a village on the river Raisin, 25 miles south of Detroit. With 800 young volunteers, chiefly from Kentucky, he arrived, on January 10, 1813, at Maumee Rapids; and three days later he despatched against the British and Indians, concentrated at Frenchtown, a small body of troops under Colonels Allen and Lewis. The position was attacked and taken on the 18th, and Winchester arrived with reinforcements on the 20th. Our success, however, was short-lived. Colonel Procter, who was at Malden, eighteen miles distant, at once started for Frenchtown, at the head of 1500 British and Indians. Winchester's men had taken only slight precautions against a surprise. Early on the morning of the 22d, they were assailed by the enemy, and completely routed. Winchester, who was made prisoner by the Indians, offered to surrender his whole force, on condition that they should be protected from the violence of the savages. Procter replied that he would grant such protection if the surrender took place immediately, but that otherwise he would set fire to the village, and could not be responsible for the conduct of the red men. On our submitting, Colonel Procter, leaving the wounded without a guard, withdrew to Malden, fearing the approach of Harrison, who was then on the Lower Sandusky. The Indians accompanied their British comrades some miles on the road, but next morning turned back, set fire to the houses in Frenchtown, and, falling on our injured forces, committed a shocking massacre, attended by circumstances of great atrocity.

On reaching the Maumee Rapids, Harrison learned of the defeat of his countrymen at Frenchtown. Being under the impression that Procter would speedily attack him, he retreated on January 23; but, on February 1, hearing that the English had gone towards Malden, he again advanced to the Rapids, with 1200

men, and established there a fortified camp, which he called Fort Meigs, after the Governor of Ohio. This fort was erected on the south side of the Maumee, nearly opposite a post which had formerly been occupied by the British, and a short distance from the present village of Perrysburg. The position was selected as a convenient point for receiving reinforcements and supplies from Ohio and Kentucky, for protecting the borders of Lake Erie, and for facilitating the proposed operations for the re-capture of Detroit and the invasion of Canada. For some weeks Harrison remained unmolested at this spot, but, on April 26, Procter, with 2000 regulars, militia, and Indians, from Malden, appeared on the bank of the river opposite the fort, erected batteries on some high ground, and began a siege. The Indians crossed the river on the 27th, and took up a position in Harrison's rear, which by May 3, was severely galled by a battery erected on the left bank. Harrison was summoned to surrender, but refused, and, on May 5, General Clay, with 1200 Kentuckians, arrived to the relief of Fort Meigs, and ultimately succeeded in driving the besiegers from their works. Shortly afterwards, several of the American troops, with the rashness of volunteers, dispersed themselves through the woods in pursuit of the Indians, though ordered by their commander not to expose themselves to so great a peril. In a little while they were drawn into an ambuscade; the enemy rallied, and forced them to lay down their arms; and the latter would probably have been massacred to a man, had not the Indian chief, Tecumseh, restrained his followers from indulging their vengeance. As it was, several were slain, and many more captured; the remainder fled to the nearest settlements, or escaped into the fort, which was still defended with much obstinacy. This determination soon wearied out the Indians, who, on May 8, deserted the camp,

notwithstanding the entreaties of their chief. The British raised the siege on the following day, when General Harrison, leaving Clay in command, returned to Ohio for reinforcements. All operations in this quarter were now suspended, and did not recommence until a naval force was ready for action on Lake Erie.

After raising the siege at Fort Meigs, nothing occurred in that locality until July 21, when about 4000 British and Indians under Procter and Tecumseh, again appeared before that stronghold. A week later Procter left Tecumseh to watch the Fort while he marched with 500 regulars and 800 Indians to attack Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky. The garrison consisted of only 150 soldiers, commanded by Major Croghan, then only 21 years old. Although the strength of the place was not great, Croghan resisted the attacks of his adversary with much spirit. A breach in the walls was made on August 2, when 500 of the besiegers endeavored to take the position by assault. Croghan had only one gun, but this was so effectively worked that the assailants recoiled, and, leaving 150 killed and wounded on the ground, abandoned the attempt. We had only one man killed and seven wounded; and Procter, with his Indian ally, left for Detroit, despairing of success at Fort Meigs. This put us in better spirits and discouraged the Indians in their hostile designs.

It was now resolved to fit out a squadron on Lake Ontario. By April 25, 1813, this was sufficiently advanced to permit of a forward movement. At the head of 1700 men General Dearborn crossed the lake, and prepared to attack Toronto, the Capital of Upper Canada, and the principal depository of British military stores for the supply of the western garrisons. Dearborn's troops landed before Toronto on the 27th. They were then two miles west from the defensive works, and were galled by a constant fire from the British forces,

who were stationed some distance in advance of the fortifications.

General Pike led our troops, who landed, and after a severe action drove back the adversary to his works. The rest of the forces were embarked, and the whole army moved up to the assault. The garrison had but 600 men and there was little doubt of the issue. Two

TECUMSEH.

redoubts were captured, when the magazine of the fort blew up, killing General Pike. The losses on both sides were great, owing to the blowing up of the fort.

Dearborn remained on board the fleet during the earlier part of the action, but landed soon after Pike's death, though he did not assume the command until after the surrender of the town, which was sacked.

General Sheaffe escaped with the principal part of his troops, but lost all his baggage, books, and papers.

The fleet now proceeded to Niagara, landed troops there, and returned to Sackett's Harbor. The next object of attack on the part of the army was Fort George, situated on the western shore of the river Niagara, near its mouth. The garrison, on May 27, fled to Burlington Heights, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, pursued by our forces under Generals Chandler and Winder. The detached British garrisons in that direction being afterwards concentrated in a favorable position, 40 miles west of Fort George, a more vigorous resistance was opposed to our advance. Our two generals, with a corps of 1000 men, were so successfully attacked at Stony Creek that both officers were captured; and the arrival of the British fleet, under James Yeo, compelled the return to the main body of the army, with a serious loss of artillery and baggage. Soon afterwards, another 800 men, who had been sent to make an attack on Beaver Dam, were surrounded and captured. The British, however, were unsuccessful in an attack on Sackett's Harbor by a combined land and naval force.

Several other small actions took place about the same period, and Toronto was captured and plundered a second time; but, as autumn advanced, the British, who had been preparing a flotilla on Lake Ontario, found themselves in a superior position. On October 7, Yeo appeared with his fleet before Fort George; Commodore Chauncey went out to meet him with his squadron, and, in a gale which happened on the night of the 8th, lost two of his schooners, with the greater part of their crews. An action was fought on the 10th, when we lost two more schooners; but the fleets afterwards separated, without any decided success on either side. On Lake Champlain, the British destroyed Plattsburg,

and, on the whole, the balance of advantages now inclined towards their side. We had for some time been greatly dissatisfied with General Dearborn. He had been a constant invalid, had never once led his troops in person, had sustained many heavy losses, and had let slip the most favorable opportunity for a descent on Montreal. He was accordingly relieved in June, and General Wilkinson was called from the South to take his place. This officer, like his predecessor, had seen service during the War of Independence, but was still less than sixty years of age. He arrived at Sackett's Harbor on August 1, and the War Department, now under the direction of General Armstrong, was for a time removed to the same place. It was determined to attack Montreal with an army of 8000 men, as soon as the necessary preparations could be completed; but it took three months to get all things in readiness for so important an expedition. The delay gave the British authorities time to fortify every important point on the St. Lawrence; so that when the flotilla set sail, on November 5, it was found impossible to proceed far without encountering the most serious resistance. A body of troops, under the command of General Brown, was therefore set on shore, and these men, marching in advance of the boats, endeavored to dislodge the enemy from his posts on the river. At Chrystler's Fields, near Williamsburg, the rear division, under General Boyd, encountered a large British force on November 10. An obstinate engagement terminated in our favor. At a considerable loss of men, we succeeded in re-opening the stream for the passage of the flotilla. General Wilkinson arrived on the following day at St. Regis, where General Hampton was to have co-operated with him. That officer, however, had neglected to obey his orders, alleging that the sickly condition of his troops, and a lack of provisions,

had induced him to fall back on his main depôt at Plattsburg, in the hope of maintaining his communications with the St. Lawrence, and thus contributing to the success of the expedition. He had in truth been foiled by a body of Canadian militia. The failure of Hampton to effect his junction with the Commander-in-Chief proved fatal to the entire enterprise. Wilkinson at once retreated, and, establishing himself at French Mills, put his army into winter-quarters. Hampton was deprived of his command; but by many the blame was rather imputed to General Armstrong, and by some to Wilkinson. The three officers found it impossible to agree, and their bickerings as to precedence had much to do with the collapse of the expedition.

The war acquired a more ruthless character with time, as such wars generally do. A British squadron stationed in Delaware Bay captured and burned every merchant-vessel it encountered, and the village of Lewiston, in the State of Delaware, was bombarded and seriously injured, because the inhabitants refused to sell provisions to the enemy. In Chesapeake Bay, Admiral Cockburn plundered private houses near the shore, and drove away cattle for the sustenance of his men. Frenchtown, Havre-de-Grace, Fredericktown, Georgetown, and other places, were sacked and burned; Hampton was captured, after a determined resistance, which drew down on the unfortunate people may acts of barbarous vengeance; Norfolk was attacked with great fury, but saved by the courage of a small force stationed on Craney Island, in the harbor, and much open country was laid waste. In retaliation Toronto and Newcastle, on the Canadian side of the border, were destroyed by fire, and many hundreds of non-combatants were thrown houseless on the world in the midst of a northern winter. Each side accused the other of provoking these outrages.

Perry's signal victory on Lake Erie caused the utmost satisfaction throughout the Union. It was the first time that our vessels had obtained any advantage over a squadron, and the action soon produced very important effects on the military policy of the enemy. It placed Colonel Procter and his Indian allies in a dangerous position, and enabled us to make a movement towards the recovery of the ground which had been lost by the mismanagement of General Hull. The command of Lake Erie was secured, and a reinforcement of 4000 Kentucky volunteers under Governor Shelby arrived on September 17 in the neighborhood of the lake. General Harrison thereupon proceeded by water to Malden, now abandoned by the British under Procter, who, a few days before, had ascended the river Thames as far as the Moravian villages on that stream. At this spot they were overtaken by General Harrison on October 5, and completely routed. Of the British, 600 were made prisoners, and Colonel Procter, who narrowly escaped, left his camp-equipage and all his papers behind him. The slaughter of the Indians was very great, and their chief Tecumseh was among the killed. He was at that time about forty years of age—a man of courage and of some intellectual power, possessing all that melancholy dignity which is characteristic of the Indian race. Among the trophies of the victory near the Moravian villages were six brass field-pieces recently given up by General Hull, on two of which were inscribed the words, "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." Detroit and all the other posts in that direction were now once more in our hands; the war in the Northwest was brought to an end; and the Indian confederacy was completely broken up by the submission of four important tribes, who sent deputies to General Harrison, and entered into treaties of alliance.

It was not merely, however, on the borders of Canada that we had been threatened with Indian ferocity, and it was not only there that the danger was now extinguished. At the commencement of the war, Tecumseh had visited the Creeks and Seminoles on the frontiers of Georgia, and excited their fanaticism against the white inhabitants of that region. About the end of August, they surprised a fort in an exposed situation, and massacred all within, including women and children. General Jackson, of Tennessee, thereupon led a large body of militia into the wilds, to punish the offenders. The Indians were hunted down, brought to bay in a series of bloody encounters, and decimated by continual slaughter. Their last stand was made in a fortified camp at the Great Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River, in what is now the State of Alabama, where 1000 warriors, with their women and children, determined to brave the worst. They were surrounded, and Jackson made his assault on March 27, 1814. Driven backwards and forwards by the troops in their front and the troops in their rear, and seeing no possibility of escape, the savages fought with desperate tenacity. The battle lasted until night; but the issue was never doubtful. Disdaining to surrender, almost 600 of the Indians fell dead upon the field; 300 escaped; and Jackson with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, remained master of the ground. This action so completely crushed the spirit of the Creeks, and went so near towards annihilating them as a nation, that the remainder soon after signified their submission.

At the close of 1813, we were in a more favorable position than that occupied a year before. We had had several important triumphs at sea; had not always been vanquished on land; and the nation was fully determined to spare no exertion in the further prosecution of hostilities.

As the year 1814 progressed it became evident that the war would assume a much more serious character. The abdication of Napoleon, in April, and his banishment to Elba, put an end to the long war with revolutionary France; and England, being now at peace on

GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON.
(*Afterwards President of the United States.*)

the Continent of Europe, was free to direct her whole strength against the United States. Before the occurrence of these great events, the war had fallen into a somewhat languid condition. Towards the close of March, General Wilkinson entered Canada, and attacked

a number of English troops stationed in a large stone mill on the river La Colle, but was soon repulsed with heavy loss, and, having for some time sunk much in popular esteem, was shortly afterwards removed from the chief command, to which General Izard succeeded.

Some operations for obtaining predominance on Lake Ontario took place in the spring of 1814. On May 5, Yeo, who was in command of a small English squadron, appeared before Oswego, with 3000 troops and marines. The fort on the east side of the river was in a very dilapidated state, and defended by no more than 300 men, under Colonel Mitchell, and a flotilla under Captain Woolsey. A large quantity of naval and military stores had been deposited at Oswego Falls, some miles off, and one object of Yeo's expedition was to capture these, or, failing that, to destroy them. But although, after a resistance of nearly two days, the fort yielded to a combined attack by land and water, the British did not care to penetrate farther into the country, and accordingly withdrew on the morning of the 7th, with a loss of 235 men in killed and wounded. Our loss was but 69. Early in July, our forces under General Brown crossed the Niagara River, and invested Fort Erie, which surrendered without opposition. The garrison retired to the entrenched camp of General Riall, situated at Chippewa, about two miles above the Falls of Niagara, on the Canada side of the river; and here Brown determined on attacking his adversaries a second time. On July 4, he advanced against the position, and next day a sanguinary battle was fought in the open fields, ending in the defeat of the British, who fell back to Fort George, and subsequently to the Heights of Burlington. The British army had by this time been reinforced by veteran regiments, accustomed to frequent triumphs in the Spanish Peninsula and on other European fields,

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where they had successfully encountered the best troops of France. We therefore found ourselves opposed by large and formidable hosts—by men who had fought and conquered under the lead of Wellington and the other heroes of that prolonged struggle.

Soon after arriving at Burlington Heights, General Riall was joined by General Drummond, with a large number of additional troops. Our expected reinforcements were blockaded by a British fleet off Sackett's Harbor, and could not reach their comrades. They were therefore compelled to do the best they could with a force inferior to the enemy; but the events of July 25 showed that they had not altogether miscalculated their strength. The attack was commenced by the British under Drummond, and the battle raged for some hours with unabated violence. Night fell before the action reached its close, and a cloudy sky gave intermitting glimpses of moonlight, by which the antagonists sought out each other's positions, and wrestled long and bloodily for the advantage. For a considerable time, we were much annoyed by a British battery planted on a commanding eminence. "Can you capture those guns?" asked General Ripley of Colonel Miller. "I will try, sir," replied that officer; and the modest words have since become the motto of his regiment. The attempt was gallantly made. Again and again Miller led his men to the assault, sometimes momentarily seizing the position, and then losing it. Cannon were brought up to support the attack, and gun charged gun with obstinate determination. The confusion was so great that the guns were at one time interchanged; but no decided result attended the heroic effort. The close of the day has been variously described. Our historians allege that the victory was with us; but it seems more probable that the balance of advantages laid against us. Immediately after the

battle, we retreated to Fort Erie, where we were besieged by the enemy. The losses on both sides were serious. General Riall was severely wounded and taken prisoner; and Generals Brown and Scott were compelled by their injuries to quit the field.

On August 4, Drummond, who had also been wounded, appeared before Fort Erie, and commenced preparations for a siege. He was in command of 5000 troops; his works were speedily advanced to within four hundred yards of our lines; and, on the night of August 15, the besiegers made an assault upon the fort, which was gallantly repulsed. On September 2, General Brown, who had by that time recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort, and took command of the garrison, which, being strengthened by 5000 men from Plattsburg, felt equal to offensive operations. The 17th was signalized by a sortie from the besieged, who endeavored to cut off the British advanced posts from the main body. The enemy's entrenchments were for a time seized and the works destroyed; but, on Drummond hurrying up reinforcements, Brown was obliged to retreat; and was so much discouraged that, on the night of the 21st, after having remained on the ground forty-nine days, he retired to entrenchments behind the Chippewa. General Izard arrived on October 9 and took the command; but, considering it inexpedient to attempt any further operations in that quarter, he demolished the works at Fort Erie, and removed his troops to Buffalo. Thus the attempt on Canada was once more abandoned.

Plattsburg being now left almost defenceless, the British determined to attack it by land, and at the same time to attempt the destruction of our flotilla on Lake Champlain. At the head of 14,000 men, most of whom were veterans of the European wars, Prevost on September 6 arrived at Plattsburg. The garrison of

the town consisted mainly of the militia of New York and Vermont; hastily drawn together by General Macomb on the first alarm of invasion. Retiring to the south side of the Saranac, they prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. With the planks of the bridges, which they had torn up, they formed slight breastworks, and, thus aided, were able to defeat all endeavors to follow them. For some days the invaders were employed in erecting batteries, and early on the morning of the 11th the British squadron, commanded by Commodore Downie, appeared off the harbor of Plattsburg, where that of the United States, under Commodore Macdonough, lay at anchor. The former carried ninety-five guns, with a complement of upwards of 1000 men; the latter had eighty-six guns, and 820 men. A naval battle between these forces commenced at nine o'clock; and at the same time the British army began a heavy cannonade upon our lines, and attempted at different places to cross the Saranac. The opposition to those attempts was so determined, and the loss of life so serious, that the British forces were unable to gain the other side, except at one point, where the ford was weakly guarded by militia. Here the assailants managed to get into the woods, but were severely handled, and compelled, after a while, to recross the river. At six o'clock in the evening, all the British batteries were silenced, and long before that time a great naval success had been obtained upon the lake. After an engagement of two hours and twenty minutes, the English squadron was completely defeated; nearly all the ships composing it were sunk or taken; Commodore Downie was killed, and his ship was compelled to strike her colors, amidst the triumphant cheers of the Americans. So hard had been the fighting on both sides, that at the close of the action not a mast was standing uninjured in either squadron. Seeing the

complete defeat of their vessels, the British land-commanders determined to withdraw, and during the ensuing night the whole army moved off with precipitation, leaving behind them their sick and wounded, most of their camp-equipage, and their entrenching tools and provisions. Considering the excellent material of which the army was composed, and that these seasoned troops were beaten by a force consisting for the most part of militia, it occasioned great rejoicing. The principal seat of war was now transferred to the Southern and Middle States. A squadron under Cochrane, having on board an army under General Ross, sailed up the Chesapeake in the month of August. An American flotilla, commanded by Commodore Barney, had taken shelter in the Patuxent, and thither Cochrane's fleet sailed, apparently in search of the enemy. The British ships were too large to proceed any great way up the river, and moreover Ross had plans of a very different nature, to which the temporary pursuit of Barney served as a convenient blind. The army, consisting of nearly 5000 men, was disembarked at St. Benedict's, that they might march upon the Federal capital, and compel its surrender. Washington was defended by a force which, including militia, numbered about 7000 troops. No attempt was made to oppose the British advance, for Armstrong, the Secretary for War, could not persuade himself that the attack was seriously intended, and was in doubt as to the real destination of the British forces. The actual command was in the hands of General Winder, who showed great indecision of purpose, but at length resolved to make a stand against the invaders. With this view he selected a strong position at Bladensburg, covered by a branch of the Potomac. In the meanwhile, the British were pushing forward without the slightest opposition, and, by the time they had reached Marlborough, Com-

modore Barney thought it prudent to destroy his flotilla, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. Ross cared little about the flotilla. His object was Washington, and thither he pursued his march, arriving in its neighborhood on August 24.

It was necessary in the first instance to carry the position at Bladensburg. Our forces numbered more than the British; but the former were raw militia—the latter, experienced and highly-disciplined troops. The approach to the town was over a bridge, which was defended by artillery taken from Barney's flotilla and served by Barney's sailors. The resistance at this point was prolonged and courageous. For a time, the British were checked, and even compelled to give way; but they speedily rallied, out-flanked the defenders of the bridge, and finally overpowered them. The commander of the gallant band, being wounded, was captured, and paroled for his courage by General Ross. The militia acted as militia generally do. They abandoned their positions with the utmost haste, and Bladensburg was presently in the hands of General Ross. The retreating forces were ordered to assemble on the heights near the capital, and at this spot were joined by a body of Virginian militia. But Winder had no reliance on his army. He considered it quite incapable of opposing so well-trained an enemy, and accordingly withdrew to Georgetown. Washington was at the same time abandoned by the President, the heads of departments, and most of the citizens, and was shortly afterwards entered by the victors. It was at eight o'clock in the evening when General Ross, with an advance-guard of 800 men, penetrated into the Federal capital. Having arrived at the seat of government, he offered terms of capitulation, and promised that, on receiving a sum of money equal to the value of the public and private property which the

place contained, the city should be ransomed, and the British troops drawn off. There was no civil or military authority on the spot competent to enter into any such arrangement. Washington was doomed to the flames, and, in the immense conflagration which was kindled, the President's house, the offices of the several departments, a considerable number of private dwellings, the libraries and public archives, the works of art contained in the public buildings, the navy-yard and its contents, a frigate on the stocks, and several smaller vessels, were involved in one common doom. This act of shame was done under strict orders from home. It was intended to fill us with dread of what was to be expected. The British remained close to the burning city (the light of which was seen at Baltimore, forty miles off) till the 25th, when they retreated. On the 30th they re-embarked at St. Benedict's and sailed for other quarters. The bombarding of fortified towns, however dreadful, is among the permitted, and even necessary, operations of warfare; but the destruction of undefended cities, with the firing of private buildings and civic offices, is an act which no exigency can palliate. General Ross's proceedings at Washington produced the very natural effect of exciting the most vehement desire for revenge. The war became all the more popular on account of this disaster; and some even of those who had hitherto refrained from giving it their full support, now resolved to strain every nerve for repelling the invaders of their country.

Ross paid heavily for his success at Washington. The losses of his regiments, including deserters, and such as died from fatigue on the march, besides those who were killed or wounded in action, were nearly 1000 men—a very large proportion of the small army with which the expedition had been commenced.

The general, however, was speedily reinforced, and at once turned his attention towards other enterprises. He prepared to attack Baltimore, and on September 12, landed with nearly 8000 troops at North Point, fourteen miles from the city, while a portion of the fleet went up the Patapsco, to bombard Fort McHenry. Ross boasted that he would make Baltimore his winter-quarters, and that with the force at his command he could march all over Maryland. Preparations had been hurried forward for resisting the threatened attack, and an action was fought some way in advance of the capital. At the head of a small reconnoitering party, Ross pushed on towards the city, but, shortly afterwards receiving a ball from a rifleman, died in a few minutes in the arms of his aide-de-camp. Colonel Brooke then took the command, and ultimately succeeded in driving our forces back on the main body. The British bivouacked for the night on ground beyond the battle-field, and on the 13th recommenced their march. In the meanwhile, Fort McHenry* and Fort Covington, which defend the narrow passage from the Patapsco into the harbor of Baltimore, were being bombarded by a British squadron of sixteen ships, drawn up in line-of-battle within two miles and a half of the forts. On the night following the 13th, an attempt was made to storm these works; but it was successfully resisted. The squadron thereupon sailed down the river, and Colonel Brooke considered it prudent to withdraw his men. Admiral Cochrane had found himself much incommoded by the shallowness of the harbor, and by the vessels sunk at its mouth; and his inability to carry out with completeness one feature of the programme, caused the failure of the entire design. The whole

* During the bombardment of Fort McHenry, Francis S. Key, who was detained on board a British vessel, wrote the celebrated song, "The Star-Spangled Banner."

fleet soon afterwards left Chesapeake Bay, and a portion turned southward, with a view to fresh operations.

A few weeks before—viz., on August 29—the city of Alexandria, on the Potomac, had surrendered to a British squadron. The shipping, naval stores, and merchandise, were delivered up to the attacking force; the vessels in the harbor were seized, and loaded with a large amount of produce, of which Alexandria was the depôt; but the town was spared from destruction.

The coasts of New England, which had hitherto been treated with great tenderness, now felt the stress of war. Villages were bombarded and destroyed; vessels moored in the rivers were burned; and in many ways the inhabitants were made to feel that they were part of the Confederation which was the enemy of England. Commodore Hardy, in command of a squadron, and of 1200 troops, took possession of Eastport, on Moose Island, Maine, on July 11, and, after erecting fortifications there, required the people to take the oath of allegiance to the English Sovereign, or to quit the island. Having accomplished this object, he retired; but similar conquests, if such they can be called, were effected in other parts of the same territory. All the strongholds on the Penobscot were reduced. A frigate, called the *John Adams*, was captured, though not without a gallant fight. Some Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay were seized. Half the province of Maine was obliged to capitulate; and the Governor of Nova Scotia, took possession of it in the name of George III. The British operations extended to the coast of Massachusetts. The people of Cape Cod were prohibited from fishing on the banks, and, in consequence of this deprivation of their chief industry, were reduced to great distress. The inhabitants of Nantucket were forced to promise neutrality during the remainder of the war; and at various points in the same direction

the British naval commanders imposed their own terms on a people who were left without adequate protection, and were themselves not very well inclined towards the prosecution of hostilities.

The war was in fact becoming every day more unpopular in the New England States. The prevalent feeling was a desire to isolate those States from the rest of the Federation, and striking advances were made in that direction. It was proposed in Massachusetts to withhold the State revenue from the national treasury, and to apply it to purposes of local defence. In succeeding times this action was referred to with great reprobation by the Southern and Western States, as showing that, during the crisis of a foreign war, New England was disposed to separate herself from the rest of the Union.

The British in the Gulf of Mexico, strongly reinforced by fresh troops from England, were about to invade Louisiana. The authorities of New Orleans begged Jackson to hurry to their assistance. He lost no time in answering the appeal; and by prompt and vigorous action, he restored confidence to the city authorities. He declared martial law, and weeded the city of the traitorously disposed. The English commanders had hoped to arrive at the point of attack before any intelligence of their plans had reached it. Under ordinary conditions, New Orleans was vulnerable to a spirited assault; but Jackson had time to increase its defences, which, in addition to the swampy nature of the soil where the mouths of the Mississippi empty themselves into the Gulf, enabled our forces to offer a determined and successful resistance when the foe at length appeared. Every man who could bear arms was required to take part in the military operations. Fort St. Philip, which guarded the passage of the Mississippi was strengthened by new works. An exten-

sive line of fortifications was erected four miles below the city on the left bank of the river, from the edge of which it ran eastward towards an impenetrable cypress swamp. A ditch already existing between the river and the swamp was turned to military uses by throwing up entrenchments, and accumulating cotton-bales until they reached a height calculated to afford protection to troops in the rear. Cannon were mounted at every available point, and the west bank of the river was held by General Morgan, with a body of militia, and by Commodore Paterson, with the crews and guns of part of his squadron. The approach of the enemy towards the principal works was thus enfiladed. Above the town, the pass of the Bayou St. John was guarded by a detachment stationed there for that purpose; and a small squadron of gun-boats was kept in readiness to dispute the passage of the river between Lake Pontchartrain and Lake Borgne.

On December 14 the British fleet appeared at the entrance to this channel, and was met by the flotilla of gun-boats, which commenced a spirited action. In the first instance, the attacking force sent forward 40 launches, which, after some severe fighting, captured and destroyed our vessels. This success was obtained at a considerable cost in killed and wounded; but it enabled the British to choose their point of attack. On December 22 they despatched a body of troops in flat-bottomed boats, which were rowed up to the extremity of the lake and there landed the several divisions in a reedy swamp, some miles from the city. Here, on the night of the 23d, they were attacked by General Jackson. A considerable loss was inflicted on the British, but they were not dislodged from their position, and Jackson fell back towards the town. By the 28th the British forces had arrived within half a mile of our lines, from which point they opened a fire of shells and

rockets, but were repulsed by our artillery. Jackson's army at that time numbered about 3000 men, consisting for the most part of militia. These troops were stationed within a line of entrenchments, a mile in length, thrown up about four miles from New Orleans, guarded by a canal in front, and flanked by the batteries on the west or opposite bank of the river, in addition to eight others in the main position. The assailants continued to advance, and on the night of the 31st were within 300 yards of the works. Having taken up a position, protected by walls made out of hogsheads of sugar and molasses, they erected three batteries, under cover of which they three times endeavored to storm the entrenchments, but were driven back with great loss, and compelled to return to the starting-place, while their batteries were silenced. The main assault was postponed for a few days, and in the meantime Pakenham, by an extraordinary expenditure of labor, dug a canal for connecting a creek which emptied into Lake Borgne with the main channel of the Mississippi, in order that he might convey a part of his boats and artillery into the river, and thus silence the enemy's batteries on the western bank. The work was executed in an amazingly short space of time, and evinced great energy on the part of the British commander; but it had no effect on the result.

Early on the morning of January 8, 1815, the main body of the British army, consisting of 8000 men, moved up to the assault. Within a few days previously, Jackson had been reinforced by 3000 militia, chiefly from Kentucky; so that he had now 6000 men, with whom to defend his entrenchments and to work his batteries. The approach of the British was not resisted until they were within a convenient distance of the opposing lines; then, with a sudden flash and simultaneous report, showers of grape-shot struck the advancing

ranks. Jackson had formed his troops in two rows, of which the rear-guard loaded for those in front, so that the fire was continued with scarcely a break. The men from Kentucky and the other Western States were unerring marksmen, and the effect of their simultaneous volleys was deadly in the extreme. Still the British troops pushed on; but the reedy plain was soon covered with the dying and the dead. Now and again those hardy veterans staggered and fell back, but, recovering themselves after awhile, pressed forward on what was now a hopeless enterprise. The order of battle was in two columns, of which the left advanced along an embankment skirting the river, while the right, moving through the swamp, endeavored to turn the left of Jackson's position. Pakenham's plans were in some measure disordered by an untoward event. The canal, which had been very roughly executed, had partly fallen in; the boats, on whose assistance he had calculated, were unable to come up; and the party that had been sent forward was insufficient in numbers, and arrived too late. The right of the British line became involved in the swamp through which it was necessary that they should pass: they were consequently unable to turn Jackson's left, and were at length compelled to retire. Pakenham seems to have been rendered desperate by his situation, and to have thought that mere courage could supply the defects of military science. He placed himself at the head of the regiment which bore the scaling ladders, and called upon his troops to follow. Some of his officers, seeing the impossibility of success, retired from the field; but Pakenham had apparently resolved on death. Supported by a number of his men he rushed toward the entrenchments. Some officers and soldiers even got within the lines, but were at once shot down. Pakenham himself was mortally wounded; Gibbs, the second in command, shared the same fate;

and Keane, the third in command, was so severely injured as to be incapable of giving orders. It was evident that there was no choice but to retreat as speedily as possible. The shattered regiments reeled back at eight o'clock in the morning, and New Orleans was safe once more. Our militia desired to pursue their adversaries; but Jackson knew his men, and was well aware that, although they could fight heroically behind defences, they were of less worth in the open field. The operations against New Orleans were not at once abandoned, for on the 9th the British fleet commenced a bombardment of Fort St. Philip, which was continued till the 17th. This, however, was merely intended to cover the retreat of the army, which took place on January 16, under the direction of General Lambert. The loss of the British had been at least 2000 in killed, wounded, and captured. Jackson lost only the incredibly small number of seven killed and six wounded.

At about the same period Cockburn was sailing along the coasts of Carolina and Georgia, and menacing Charleston and Savannah with destruction. Fort Mobile was taken by the army which had retreated from New Orleans, and on the 16th of January an American frigate, the *President*, was captured by the English ship *Endymion;* but these small successes did little to counterbalance the great reverse before the capital of Louisiana. Several British ships were taken, and in the early days of 1815 the position of the British in America was not at all favorable from a military point of view.

While we were rejoicing over the victory at New Orleans, news arrived that terms of peace had been settled even before that action took place. The treaty had been signed on December 24, 1814, and ratified by the Prince Regent on the 27th. It was received in

GENERAL PAKENHAM LEADING THE CHARGE AT NEW ORLEANS. 207

the United States on February 11, 1815, and ratified on the 17th by the President and Senate. The treaty stipulated that all places and possessions taken during the war, or which might be taken after the instrument was signed, should be mutually restored; that all captures at sea should be relinquished, if made within specified times; and that each party should put a stop to Indian hostilities, and endeavor to extinguish the traffic in slaves. Provision was made for settling the boundaries between the United States and Canada, which had been left in a very uncertain condition by the treaty of 1783. But the main objects of the war were entirely passed over. The British claim to search American ships, and take from them seamen who were supposed to be British subjects—by far the most important ground of quarrel—was not given up. As the war between England and France was then concluded (though it broke out again shortly afterwards for a few months), it appears to have been thought that this delicate question might be passed over in silence.

The rejoicing over the restoration of peace was universal and enthusiastic. The country had gained immensely in naval and military reputation; but its sufferings had been terrible. The loss of life and property, the disturbance of material interests, had all been on a very large scale. The loss of life had been estimated at 30,000 persons; but these calculations are conjectured and thought to be greatly understated. Our progress had been thrown back for years by this disastrous struggle; and the feeling of friendship between the two great divisions of the English race, which was beginning to recover slightly from the War of Independence, was again dashed to the earth by bitter and exasperating memories.

CHAPTER XI.

Sea Battles of 1812–1815.

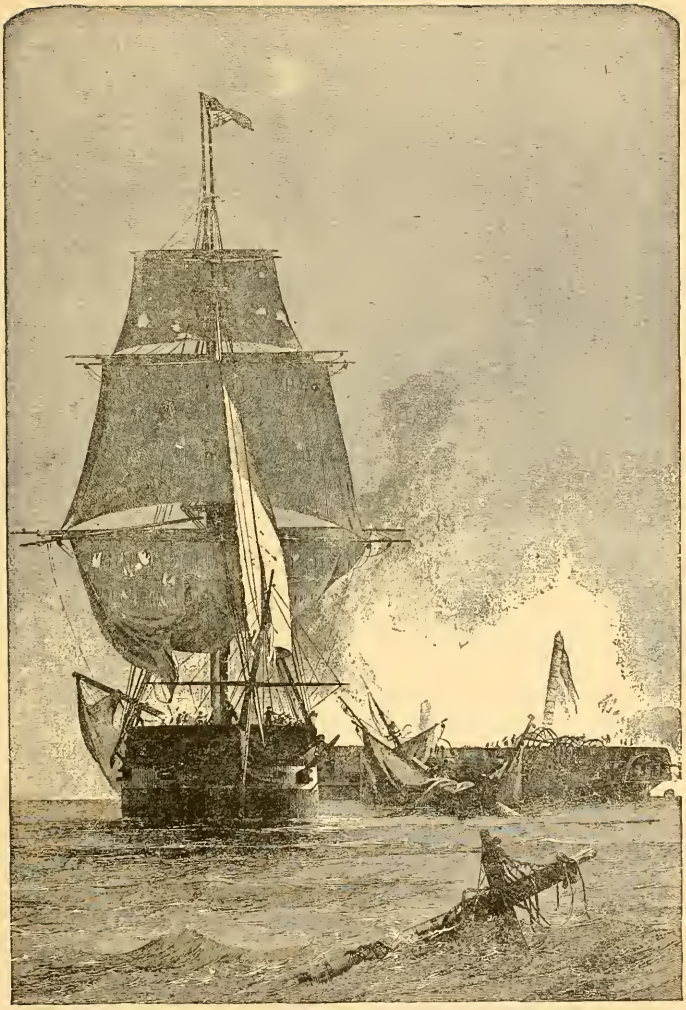
The exploits of the American Navy began with the escape of the Frigate *Constitution* from an English squadron. On July 12, 1812, the *Constitution*, completely equipped and well manned, left the Chesapeake, bound to New York. On the 16th she saw a frigate and gave chase, with winds too light to reach her. On the 17th, she discovered the British squadron, consisting of the *Africa*, 64 guns, and *Guerriere*, *Shannon*, *Belvidera* and *Æolus*, frigates, a brig and a schooner; the *Belvidera* within gun-shot. The 17th was calm and spent in towing, manœuvering and firing. On the morning of the 18th a light breeze sprung up, when the *Constitution* spread all her canvas, and by outsailing the enemy, escaped a conflict, which she could not have maintained with any hope of success, against a force so greatly superior. The chase was continued for 60 hours, during which the whole crew remained at their stations.

A gentleman, belonging to a captured vessel, who was on board the *Shannon*, reported that all the officers of the British squadron applauded the conduct of Capt. Hull; and though mortified at losing so fine a ship, gave him much credit for his skill and prudence in managing the frigate.

Soon after the escape of the *Constitution*, the U. S. brig *Nautilus*, 12 guns, commanded by Lieut. Crane, was captured by the squadron. Crane "did everything

to prevent the capture that a skilful and experienced officer could do."

CONSTITUTION AND GUERRIERE (August 19, 1812).—At one P. M., on August 19, a sail was discovered, but at such a distance we could not tell what she was. All sail was instantly made in chase, and soon found we came up with her. At 3 P. M. could plainly see that she was a ship on the starboard tack under easy sail, close on a wind; at half-past 3 made her out to be a frigate; continued the chase until we were within about three miles, when I ordered the light sails to be taken in, the courses hauled up, and the ship cleared for action. At this time the chase had backed his main-top sail, waiting for us to come down. As soon as the *Constitution* was ready for action I bore down with the intention to bring him to close action immediately; but on our coming within gun-shot she gave us a broadside and filled away, and wore, giving us a broadside on the other tack, but without effect, her shot falling short. She continued wearing and manœuvering for about three-quarters of an hour, to get a raking position, but finding she could not, she bore up, and run under her top-sails and gib, with the wind on her quarter. I immediately made sail to bring the ship up with her, and five minutes before 6, being alongside within half pistol-shot, we commenced a heavy fire from all our guns, double shotted with round and grape, and so well directed were they, and so warmly kept up, that in fifteen minutes his mizzen mast went by the board and his main yard in the slings and the hull, rigging and sails very much torn to pieces. The fire was kept up with equal warmth for fifteen minutes longer, when his main-mast and foremast went, taking with them every spar, excepting the bowsprit. On seeing this we ceased firing, so that in 30 minutes after we got fairly alongside the enemy



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she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull below and above water so shattered that a few more broadsides must have carried her down.

After informing you that so fine a ship as the *Guerriere*, commanded by an able and experienced officer, had been totally dismasted, and otherwise cut to pieces so as to make her not worth towing into port, in the short space of thirty minutes, you can have no doubt of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and ship's company. They all fought with great bravery, and it gives me great pleasure to say, that from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman, not a look of fear was seen. They all went into action, giving three cheers, and requested to be laid close alongside the enemy.—ISAAC HULL.

The *Constitution* lost seven killed and seven wounded. The *Guerriere* lost 15 men killed and 64 wounded. Among the latter were Captain Dacres, and the master, and master's mate. The *Guerriere* carried 45 guns, and was manned with 302 men.

After the action the *Constitution* returned to Boston, carrying with her the intelligence of her triumph. At this distant day it is not easy to convey a correct idea of the deep impression, which the capture of this frigate produced both in Europe and America. The constant success with which the naval flag of Great Britain had been accompanied, filled the people of America with anxiety, and those of Great Britain with overbearing insolence. Captain Dacres himself had, a short time before, issued an insolent challenge to Commodore Rodgers and the *President*, or any other ship of her class, little supposing that he would so soon receive the punishment which he merited. The U. S. Congress voted its thanks and $50,000 dollars in lieu of prize money; and the heroes of the action were received with open arms wherever they went.

THE WASP AND THE FROLIC (October 18, 1812).—The United States sloop-of-war, the *Wasp*, commanded by Captain Jacob Jones, was cruising in the track of vessels passing from Bermuda to Halifax, when, on October 17, about eleven o'clock, in a clear moonlight evening, she found herself near five strange sail, steering eastward. As some of them seemed to be ships of war, it was thought best to get farther from them. The *Wasp*, therefore, haled her wind, and having reached a few miles to windward, so as to escape or fight as the occasion might require, followed the strange sail through the night. At daybreak on Sunday morning, Captain Jones found that they were six large merchant ships, under convoy of a sloop-of-war, which proved to be the *Frolic*, Captain Whinyates, from Honduras to England, with a convoy, strongly armed and manned, having in all about 50 men, and two of them mounting sixteen guns each. He determined, however, to attack them, and as there was a heavy swell of the sea, and the weather boisterous, got down his top-gallant yards, close-reefed the topsails, and prepared for action. About eleven o'clock the *Frolic* showed Spanish colors; and the *Wasp* immediately displayed the American ensign and pendant. At half-past eleven the *Wasp* came down to windward, on her larboard side, within about sixty yards, and hailed. The enemy hauled down the Spanish colors, hoisted the British ensign, and opened a fire of cannon and musketry. This the *Wasp* instantly returned; and, coming nearer to the enemy, the action became close, and without intermission. In four or five minutes the main topmast of the *Wasp* was shot away, and, falling down with the main topsail yard across the larboard, fore and fore-topsail braces, rendered her head yards unmanageable during the rest of the action. In two or three minutes more her gaff and mizzen top-gallant were shot away. Still she continued a close and constant fire. The sea

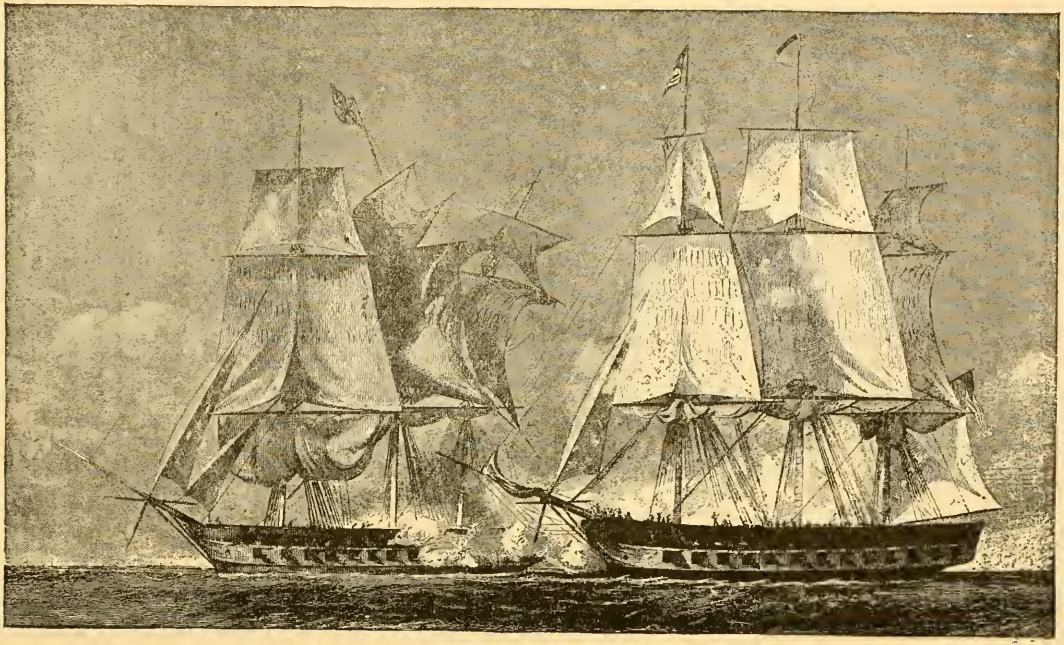
was so rough that the muzzles of the *Wasp's* guns were frequently in the water. We fired as the ship's side was going down, so that the shot went either on the enemy's deck or below it, while the British fired as the vessel rose, and thus her balls chiefly touched the rigging or were thrown away. The *Wasp* now shot ahead of the *Frolic*, raked her, and then resumed her position on her larboard bow. Her fire was now obviously attended with such success, and that of the *Frolic* so slackened, that Captain Jones did not wish to board her, lest the roughness of the sea might endanger both vessels; but, in the course of a few minutes more, every brace of the *Wasp* was shot away, and her rigging so much torn to pieces, that he was afraid that his masts, being unsupported, would go by the board, and the *Frolic* be able to escape, He thought, therefore, the best chance of securing her was to board, and decide the contest at once. With this view, he wore ship, and, running down upon the enemy, the vessels struck each other, the *Wasp's* side rubbing along the *Frolic's* bow, so that her jib-boom came in between the main and mizzen-rigging of the *Wasp*, directly over the heads of Captain Jones and Lieutenant Biddle, who were at that moment standing together near the capstan. The *Frolic* lay so fair for raking, that they decided not to board until they had given a closing broadside. While they were loading for this, so near were the two vessels that the rammers of the *Wasp* were pushed against the *Frolic's* sides, and two of her guns went through the bow-ports of the *Frolic*, and swept the whole length of her deck. At this moment, Jack Lang, a seaman of the *Wasp*, a gallant fellow, who had been once impressed by a British man-of-war, jumped on his gun with his cutlass, and was springing on board the *Frolic*. Jones, wishing to fire again before boarding, called him down; but his impetuosity could not be restrained, and he was

already on the bowsprit of the *Frolic*, when, seeing the ardor and enthusiasm of the *Wasp's* crew, Lieut. Biddle mounted on the hammock cloth to board. At this signal the crew followed; but Lieut. Biddle's feet got entangled in the rigging of the enemy's bowsprit, and Midshipman Baker, in his ardor to get on board, laying hold of his coat, he fell back on the *Wasp's* deck. He sprang up, and as the next swell of the sea brought the *Frolic* nearer, he got on her bowsprit, where Lang and another seaman were already. He passed on to the forecastle, and was surprised at seeing not a single man alive on the *Frolic's* deck, except the seaman at the wheel and three officers. The deck was slippery with blood and strewn with the bodies of the dead. As he went forward the Captain of *Frolic*, with two other officers, who were standing on the quarter deck, threw down their swords, and made an inclination of their bodies, denoting that they had surrendered. At this moment the colors were still flying, as probably none of the seamen of the *Frolic* would dare go into the rigging for fear of the musketry of the *Wasp*. Lieut. Biddle therefore jumped into the rigging himself, and hauled down the British ensign, and possession was taken of the *Frolic* in forty-three minutes after the first fire. She was in a shocking condition; the berth deck particularly was crowded with dead, and wounded, and dying; there being but a small proportion of the *Frolic's* crew who had escaped. Captain Jones instantly sent on board his surgeon's mate, and all the blankets of the *Frolic* were brought for the comfort of the wounded. To increase this confusion, both the *Frolic's* masts soon fell, covering the dead and everything on deck, and she lay a complete wreck.

The *Frolic* mounted sixteen 32-pound carronades, four 12-pounders on the main deck, and two 12-pound

carronades. She was, therefore, superior to the *Wasp* by exactly four 12-pounders. The number of men on board, as stated by the officers of the *Frolic* was 110—the number of seamen on board the *Wasp* was 102; but it could not be ascertained whether in this 110 were included mariners and officers; for the *Wasp* had, besides her 102 men, officers and marines; making the whole crew about 135. What, however, is decisive as to their comparative force is, that the officers of the *Frolic* acknowledged that they had as many men as they knew what to do with, and, in fact, the *Wasp* could have spared fifteen men. There was, therefore, on the most favorable view, at least an equality of men, and an inequality of four guns. The disparity of loss was much greater. The exact number of killed and wounded on board the *Frolic* could not be precisely determined; but from the observations of our officers, and the declarations of those of the *Frolic*, the number could not be less than about 30 killed, including two officers; and of the wounded, between 40 and 50, the captain and second lieutenant being of the number. The *Wasp* had five men killed and five wounded.

All hands were now employed in clearing the deck, burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded, when Captain Jones sent orders to Lieutenant Biddle to proceed to Charleston, or any other southern port of the United States; and, as there was a suspicious sail to windward, the *Wasp* would continue her cruise. The ships then parted. The suspicious sail was now coming down very fast. At first it was supposed that she was one of the convoy, who had all fled during the engagement, and who now came for the purpose of attacking the prize. The guns of the *Frolic* were, therefore, loaded and the ship cleared for action; but the enemy, as she advanced, proved to be a seventy-four, the *Poictiers*, Captain Beresford. She fired a shot



BATTLE BETWEEN THE "UNITED STATES" AND THE "MACEDONIAN."

over the *Frolic*; passed her; overtook the *Wasp*, the disabled state of whose rigging prevented her from escaping; and then returned to the *Frolic*, who could, of course, make no resistance. The *Wasp* and *Frolic* were carried as prizes into Bermuda.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE MACEDONIAN (October 25, 1812).—Being in latitude 29° N. longitude, 29° 30′ W., on October 25, we fell in with, and after an action of an hour and a half, captured His Majesty's ship *Macedonian*, commanded by Captain John Carden, and mounting 49 carriage guns (the odd gun shifting). She is a frigate of the largest class, and reputed one of the best sailers in the British service. The enemy, being to windward, had the advantage of engaging us at his own distance, which was so great, that for the first half hour, we did not use our carronades, and at no moment was he within the complete effect of our musketry and grape; to this circumstance, and a heavy swell, which was on at the time, I ascribe the unusual length of the action.

The enthusiasm of every officer, seaman and marine on board this ship, on discovering the enemy—their steady conduct in battle, and precision of their fire, could not be surpassed.

We had but five killed and seven wounded.

On board the *Macedonian*, there were 36 killed, and 68 wounded.

The *Macedonian* lost her mizzen mast, fore and main top-masts and main yard, and was much cut up in her hull. The damage sustained by this ship was not such as to render her return into port necessary; and had I not deemed it important that we should see our prize in, should have continued our cruise.—STEPHEN DECATUR.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE JAVA (December 29, 1812).—On December 29, 1812, at 2 P. M., when about 10

leagues distant from the coast of Brazil, I fell in with and captured the British frigate *Java*, of 49 guns and upwards of 400 men, commanded by Captain Lambert. The action lasted one hour and 55 minutes, in which time the enemy was completely dismasted, not having a spar of any kind standing. The loss on board the *Constitution*, was nine killed and 25 wounded. The enemy had 60 killed and 101 wounded (among the latter Captain Lambert, mortally).

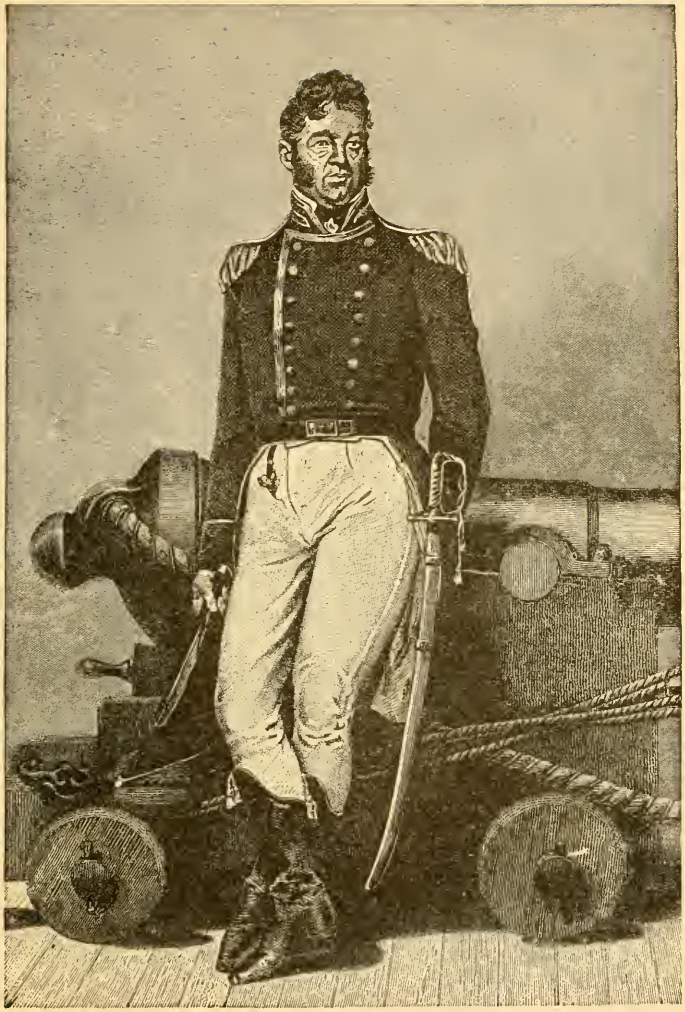
The *Java* had, in addition to her own crew, upwards of 100 officers and seamen to join the British ships of war in the East Indies; also General Hislop, appointed to the command of Bombay; and Captain Marshall, master and commander in the British navy, going to the East Indies to take command of a sloop-of-war there.

The great distance from our own coast and the perfect wreck we made of the enemy's frigate, forbade every idea of attempting to take her to the United States; I had therefore no alternative but burning her, which I did after receiving all the prisoners and their baggage, which was very hard work, only having one boat left out of eight, and not one left on board the *Java*.

On blowing up the frigate *Java*, I proceeded to this place, where I have landed all the prisoners on their parole to return to England, and there remain until regularly exchanged, and not to serve in their professional capacities in any place, or in any manner whatsoever against the United States of America, until their exchange shall be effected.—W. BAINBRIDGE.

THE HORNET AND THE PEACOCK (February 24, 1813). —After Commodore Bainbridge left the coast of Brazil, (Jan. 6), I continued off the harbor of St. Salvador, blockading the *Bonne Citoyenne*, until the 24th, when the *Montague*, 74, hove in sight, and chased me into the harbor; but night coming on, I wore and stood out to

the southward. Knowing that she had left Rio Janeiro for the express purpose of relieving the *Bonne Citoyenne* and the packet (which I had also blockaded for 14 days), I judged it prudent to shift my cruising-ground, and hauled by the wind to the eastward, with the view of cruising off Pernambuco, and on February 4 captured the English brig *Resolution*, of 10 guns, from Rio Janeiro, with coffee, jerked beef, flour, fustic, and butter, and about 23,000 dollars in specie. As she sailed dull and I could not spare hands to man her, I took out the money and set her on fire. I ran down the coast, and cruised there a short time: from thence ran off Surinam. After cruising off that coast from the 15th to the 22d of February without meeting a vessel, I stood for Demerara, with an intention, should I be fortunate on that station, to run through the West Indies, on my way to the United States. But, on the 24th in the morning, I discovered a brig to the leeward, to which I gave chase; ran into quarter less four, and not having a pilot, was obliged to haul off, the fort at the entrance of Demerara River at this time bearing S. W., distant about two and a half leagues. Previous to giving up the chase, I discovered a vessel at anchor without the bar, with English colors flying, apparently a brig-of-war. In beating round, in order to get at her, at half-past 3, discovered another sail on our weather quarter, edging down for us. At 20 minutes past 4, she hoisted English colors, at which time we discovered her to be a large man-of-war brig—beat to quarters, cleared ship for action, and kept close by the wind, in order, if possible, to get the weather gage. At 10 minutes past 5, finding I could weather the enemy, I hoisted American colors and tacked. At 25 minutes past 5, in passing each other, exchanged broadsides within half pistol-shot. Observing the enemy in the act of wearing, I bore up, received his starboard broadside, ran him close



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on board the starboard quarter, and kept up such a heavy and well-directed fire, that in less than 15 minutes he surrendered, being literally cut to pieces, and hoisted his ensign, union down, from his fore-rigging, as a signal of distress. Shortly after, his mainmast went by the board. Despatched Lieutenant Shubrick on board, who reported her to be His Majesty's brig *Peacock*, commanded by Captain William Peake, who fell in the latter part of the action; that a number of her crew were killed and wounded, and that she was sinking fast, having then six feet of water in her hold. Despatched the boats immediately for the wounded, and brought both vessels to anchor. Such shot-holes as could be got at were then plugged up: her guns thrown overboard, and every possible exertion used to keep her afloat until the prisoners could be removed, by pumping and bailing, but without effect, as she unfortunately sunk in 5½ fathoms of water, carrying down 13 of her crew, and three of my brave fellows. Four men, of the 13 mentioned, were so fortunate as to gain the foretop, and were afterwards taken off by the boats. Previous to her going down, four of her men took the stern boat, that had been much damaged during the action, who, I sincerely hope, reached the shore in safety. I have not been able to ascertain from her officers the exact number killed. Captain Peake and four men were found dead on board. The master, and one midshipman, carpenter and captain's clerk, and 29 seamen were wounded; most of them severely, three of them died of their wounds after being removed, and nine drowned. Our loss was trifling in comparison. John Place, killed; Samuel Coulson, and John Delyrumple, severely wounded; George Coffin and Lewis Todd, severely burnt by the explosion of a cartridge. Our rigging and sails are much cut. One shot through the foremast; and the bowsprit slightly injured. Our hull received little

or no damage. At the time I brought the *Peacock* to action, the *L'Espiegle* (the brig mentioned as being at anchor) mounting sixteen 32-pound carronades and two long nines, lay about six miles in shore of me, and could plainly see the whole of the action. Apprehensive that she would beat out to the assistance of her consort, such exertions were made by my officers and crew repairing damages, &c., that by nine o'clock my boats were stowed away, new set of sails bent, and the ship completely ready for action. At 2 A. M. got under way and stood by the wind to the northward and westward, under easy sail.

On mustering next morning, found we had 277 souls on board, including the crew of the American brig *Hunter*, of Portland, taken a few days since by the *Peacock*. As we had been on two-thirds allowance of provisions for some time, and had but 3400 gallons of water on board, I reduced the allowance to three pints a man, and determined to make the best of my way to the United States.

The *Peacock* was deservedly styled one of the finest vessels of her class in the British Navy. I should judge her to be about the tonnage of the *Hornet*. She mounted sixteen 24-pound carronades, two long nines, one 12-pound carronade on her top-gallant forecastle, as a shifting gun, and one 4 or 6 pounder, and two swivels mounted aft. I find that her crew consisted of 134 men, four of whom were absent in a prize.

The cool and determined conduct of my officers and crew during the action, and their almost unexampled exertions afterwards, entitle them to my warmest acknowledgments.—JAMES LAWRENCE.

THE CHESAPEAKE AND THE SHANNON (June 1, 1813). —In consequence of Captain Lawrence's gallant victory over the *Peacock* he was promoted to the command of

the frigate *Chesapeake*, then lying in the Boston harbor. The British frigate *Shannon*, commanded by Captain Brooke, had been cruising before that port for several weeks, and Brooke sent a challenge to Lawrence to meet him ship to ship, and thus determine the relative value of the two vessels, Brooke was a gallant and careful officer. He had long paid great attention to the discipline and exercise of his crew, and felt he could depend on them. In Captain Lawrence and the *Chesapeake* he had a skilful and daring opponent. The *Chesapeake* was a little superior in size to the *Shannon*, and had a larger complement of men; but the crew were not well trained.

On June 1, the two vessels met, and instantly engaged. About 15 minutes before 6 P. M. the action commenced within pistol-shot. The first broadside did great execution on both sides, damaged our rigging, killed among others Mr. White, the sailing-master, and wounded Captain Lawrence. In about 12 minutes after the commencement of the action we fell on board of the enemy, and immediately after, one of our arm-chests on the quarter deck was blown up by a hand-grenade, thrown from the enemy's ship. In a few minutes one of the captain's aids came on the gun deck to inform me that the boarders were called. I immediately called the boarders away, and proceeded to the spar deck, where I found that the enemy had succeeded in boarding us, and had gained possession of our quarter deck. I immediately gave orders to haul on board the foretack, for the purpose of shooting the ship clear of the other, and made an attempt to regain the quarter deck, but was wounded, and thrown down on the gun deck. I again made an effort to collect the boarders, but in the meantime the enemy had gained complete possession of the ship. On my being carried down to the cockpit, I there found Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant

Ludlow both mortally wounded; the former had been carried below previously to the ship's being boarded; the latter was wounded in attempting to repel the boarders.—Lieut. George Budd.

In the brief space of time during which the battle had raged the *Chesapeake* had 48 killed, and 98 wounded; the *Shannon*, 23 killed and 56 wounded. Lawrence was twice wounded early in the action, and when carried below was asked if the colors should be struck. He replied, "No; they shall wave while I live." He afterwards became delirious with mental and bodily suffering, and whenever able to speak during the remaining four days of his life, would exclaim, "*Don't give up the ship!*" But the ship was already in the hands of the enemy. The bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow were carried to Halifax and there buried with the honors of war. Some of the oldest captains of the British Navy carried the pall of Lawrence, and it was universally felt that he was worthy of every honor that could be paid to his memory. The corpse was shrouded in a mahogany coffin, and was received at the King's wharf by a regiment of troops and a full band of music. When victorious over the *Peacock* he had behaved with so much kindness to the officers and crew, that the former, on arriving at New York, sent him a letter of thanks. Although his mortal remains were now deposited in alien earth, the spirit which he embodied went forth as an animating influence through the whole mass of his countrymen, and his dying words, "Don't give up the ship!" have become classical, as they deserve to be, in the American Navy.

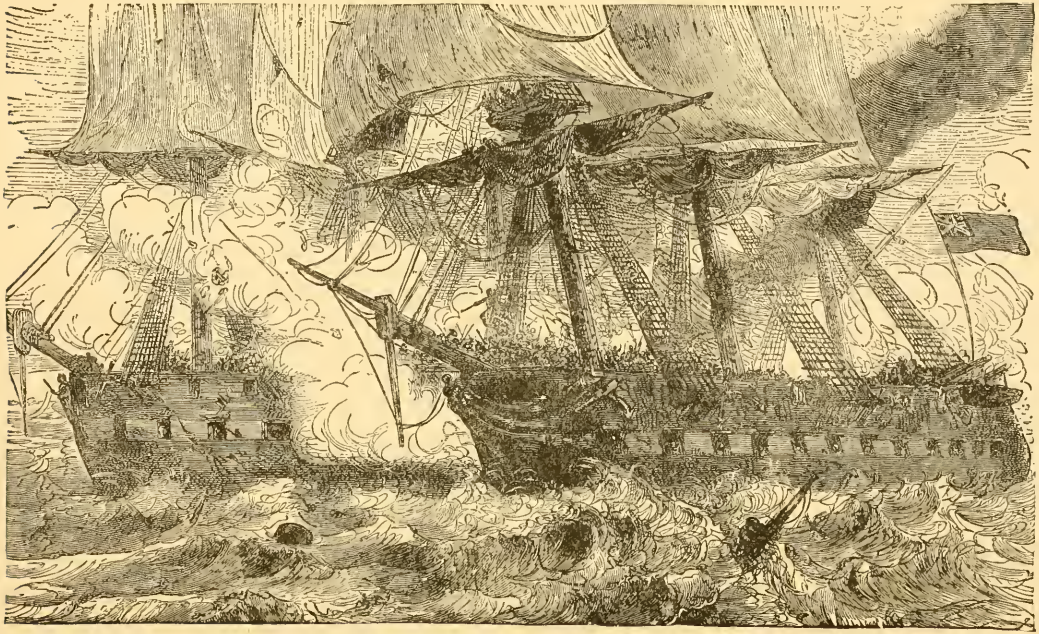
The people were very disheartened at this unexpected calamity. The honors and rewards bestowed on Captain Brooke showed that it was considered a very great matter to vanquish a frigate of the United States.

Shortly after the fate of the *Chesapeake* and her brave defenders was known in the United States, B. W. Crowninshield solicited the government for permission to sail with a flag of truce to Halifax, for the purpose of obtaining the entombed bodies of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow; the permission being granted, Mr. Crowninshield sailed in a vessel manned by himself and ten other masters of vessels, and on application to the British admiral, commanding on that station, obtained the object of his request. On their arrival at Salem, Massachusetts, the funeral obsequies of the brave deceased were again celebrated in the most solemn and impressive manner.

The Report of the Naval Committee said:

The court are of opinion that the *Chesapeake* was gallantly carried into action by her late brave commander; and no doubt rests with the court from comparison of the injury respectively sustained by the frigates, that the fire of the *Chesapeake* was much superior to that of the *Shannon*. The *Shannon* being much cut in her spars and rigging, and receiving many shot in and below the water line, was reduced almost to a sinking condition, after only a few minutes' cannonading from the *Chesapeake;* while the *Chesapeake* was comparatively uninjured. And the court have no doubt, if the *Chesapeake* had not accidentally fallen on board the *Shannon*, and the *Shannon's* anchor got foul in the after quarter port of the *Chesapeake*, the *Shannon* must have very soon surrendered or sunk.

It appears to the court, that as the ships were getting foul, Captain Lawrence ordered the boarders to be called; but the bugle man, stationed to call the boarders by sounding a bugle, had deserted his quarters, and when discovered and ordered to call, was unable, from fright, to sound his horn; that midshipmen went below immediately to pass the word for the boarders; but not



THE BATTLE OF THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND THE "SHANNON." 227

being called in the way they had usually exercised, few came upon the upper deck; confusion prevailed; a greater part of the men deserted their quarters, and ran below. It appears also to the court, that when the *Shannon* got foul of the *Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence, Lieutenant Ludlow, the sailing master, and lieutenant of marines were all killed or mortally wounded, and thereby the upper deck of the *Chesapeake* was left without any commanding officer, and with only one or two young midshipmen. It also appears to the court, that previously to the ships getting foul, many of the *Chesapeake's* spar deck division had been killed and wounded, and the number stationed on that deck thereby considerably reduced; that these being left without a commissioned officer, or even a warrant officer, except one or two inexperienced midshipmen, and not being supported by the boarders from the gun deck, almost universally deserted their quarters. And the enemy, availing himself of this defenceless state of the *Chesapeake's* upper deck, boarded and obtained possession of the ship with very little opposition.

THE ARGUS AND THE PELICAN (August 14, 1813).—Circumstances prevented my attention to the painful duty which devolved on me by the death of my gallant commander, Captain William H. Allen, late of the U. S. brig *Argus*. After capturing 23 vessels of various sizes, and some of great value, on August 14, 1813, we discovered at 4 o'clock A. M. a large brig-of-war standing down under a press of sail upon our weather quarter, the wind being at south, and the *Argus* close hauled on the starboard tack: we prepared to receive her; and at half-past four, being unable to get the weather gage, we shortened sail, and gave her an opportunity of closing. At 6, the brig having displayed English colors, we hoisted our flag; wore round, and gave her the lar-

board broadside (being at this time within grape distance), which was returned, and the action commenced within the range of musketry. Shortly after six, Captain Allen was wounded, and the enemy shot away our main braces, main spring-stay, gaff, and trysail-mast. Allen, being much exhausted by the loss of blood, was taken below. At 6.12 lost our spritsail-yard and the principal part of the standing rigging on the larboard side of the foremast. At this time I received a wound on the head from a grape shot, and was carried below.

Lieutenant Allen, who succeeded to the command, reports, at 6.14 the enemy, being in our weather quarter, edged off, for the purpose of getting under our stern, but the *Argus* luffed close to, with the main topsail aback, and giving him a raking broadside, frustrated his attempt. The enemy shot away our preventer, main-braces and main-topsail-tye; and the *Argus*, having lost the use of her after sails, fell on before the wind, when the enemy succeeded in passing our stern, and ranged on the starboard side. At 6.25 the wheel ropes and running rigging of every description being shot away, the *Argus* became unmanageable; and the enemy, not having sustained any apparent damage, had it completely in his power to choose a position, and continued to play upon our starboard quarter, occasionally shifting his situation, until 6.30 when I returned to the deck, the enemy being under our stern, within pistol shot, where she continued to rake us until 6.38, when we prepared to board, but, in consequence of our shattered condition, were unable to effect it; the enemy then passed our broadside, and took a position on our starboard bow. From this time until 6.47 we were exposed to a cross or raking fire, without being able to oppose but little more than musketry to the broadside of the enemy, our guns being much disabled and seldom brought to bear.

The *Argus* suffered much, in hull and rigging, as also in killed and wounded; and being exposed to a galling fire, which from the enemy's ability to manage his vessel we could not avoid, I deemed it necessary to surrender, and was taken possession of by the British sloop *Pelican*, of 21 carriage guns, viz., sixteen 32-pound carronades, four long 6's, and one 12-pound carronade. I hope this measure will meet your approbation, and that the result of this action, when the superior size and metal of our opponent, and the fatigue which the crew, &c., of the *Argus* underwent from a very rapid succession of captures, is considered, will not be thought unworthy of the flag under which we serve.

LIEUT. W. H. WATSON,
Late of the U. S. brig Argus.

The *Argus* lost 10 men, beside the captain, and had 11 wounded.

THE ENTERPRISE AND THE BOXER (September 5, 1813).—On the 5th, in the bay near Penguin Point, discovered a brig getting under way, which appeared to be a vessel of war, and to which we immediately gave chase. She fired several guns, and stood for us, having four ensigns hoisted. After reconnoitering and discovering her force, and the nation to which she belonged, we hauled upon a wind, to stand out of the bay, and at 3 o'clock shortened sail, tacked to run down, with an intention to bring her to close action. A 3.20, when within half pistol-shot, the firing commenced from both, and after being warmly kept up, and with some manœuvering, the enemy hailed, and said they had surrendered, about 4 P. M.; *their colors being nailed to the masts, could not be hauled down.* She proved to be the British brig *Boxer*, of 14 guns, Samuel Blythe, commander, who fell in the early part of the engagement from a cannon-shot through the body. Lieutenant Burrows, who had gal-

lantly led us into action, fell also about the same time by a musket-ball.

The *Enterprize* suffered much in spars and rigging, and the *Boxer* received so much damage in her hull, masts, and sails, that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat to get her in.

There were between 20 and 35 killed, and 14 wounded on the *Boxer*. Our loss was 4 killed, and 13 wounded.

EDWARD R. A. CALL, *Senior Officer.*

THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE (September 10, 1813).

Commodore Perry to the Secretary of the U. S. Navy:

U. S. Brig Niagara, off the Western Sister,
Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813.

SIR: It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command, after a sharp conflict.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Hon. WILLIAM JONES, *Sec'y of the Navy.* O. H. PERRY.

Commodore Perry to Major-General Harrison:

U. S. Brig Niagara, off the Western Sister,
Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813.

DEAR GENERAL,

We have met the enemy; and they are ours! two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop.

Yours with great respect and esteem,

Gen. HARRISON. O. H. PERRY.

On the morning of the 10th instant, at sunrise, the enemy's fleet were discovered from Put-in-Bay, where I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command. We got under way, the wind light and stood for them. At 10 A. M. the wind hauled to S. E. and brought us to windward: formed the line and bore up. At quarter before 12, the enemy commenced firing; at five minutes before 12, the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed at the *Lawrence*, I made sail and directed the other vessels to follow for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bow-line being shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the sailing master. In this situation she sustained the action upwards of two hours within cannister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and the greater part of her crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who I was convinced, from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag. At half-past two, the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the *Niagara*, gallantly into close action: I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish by volunteering to bring the schooners which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action. It was with unspeakable pain, that I saw, soon after I got on board the *Niagara*, the flag of the *Lawrence* come down, although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted.

COMMODORE OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

At 45 minutes past two, the signal was made for "close action." The *Niagara* being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line, bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop from the larboard side at half pistol-shot distance. The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and cannister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well-directed fire, the two ships, a brig and a schooner, surrendered, a schooner and sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

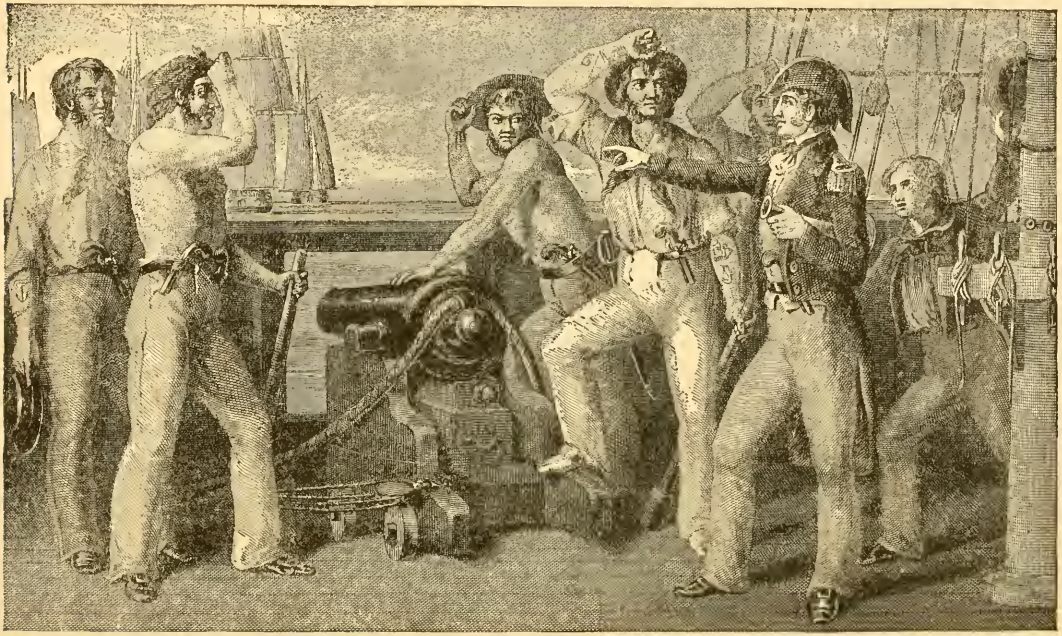
Our loss in killed was 27, and we had 96 wounded. Their loss was not accurately ascertained, but it must have been very great. The exact number of the enemy's force has not been ascertained, but I have good reason to believe that it exceeded ours by nearly 100 men.

O. H. PERRY.

The victory of Commodore Perry was the result of skill, courage, and enterprise, against superior force. Both the quality and amount of the force he had to contend with, ought to have given a triumph to the other side; and at the time of the surrender, the odds were increased against him, since his own ship, after having suffered more than perhaps a vessel of the same size and force ever did before, had been compelled to strike. The immediate termination of the battle appears to have been decided by the bold Nelsonian measure of breaking through the British line and coming to close action.

A naval officer at Lake Erie thus writes:

"In no action fought this war has the conduct of the commanding officer been so conspicuous or so evidently decisive of the fate of the battle, as in this. When he discovered that nothing further could be done in the



COMMODORE PERRY AT THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE.

Lawrence, he wisely removed to the *Niagara*, and by one of the boldest and most judicious manœuvres ever practised, decided the contest at once. Had the *Niagara* shared the fate of the *Lawrence*, it was his intention to have removed to the next best vessel, and so on as long as one of his squadron continued to float. The enemy saw him put off, and acknowledge that they fired a broadside at him. With his usual gallantry he went off standing up in the stern of the boat; but the crew insisted on his sitting down. The enemy speak with admiration of the manner in which the *Lawrence* bore down upon them. She continued her course so long and so obstinately, that they thought we were going to board them. They had a great advantage in having long guns. Many of our men were killed on the berth deck and in the steerage, after they were taken below to be dressed. One shot went through the light room, and knocked the snuff of the candle into the magazine —the gunner happened to see it immediately, and extinguished it with his hand: 2 shot passed through the magazine; 2 through the cabin; 3 or 4 came into the ward room—but I believe only one went quite through, and that passed a few inches over the surgeon's head as he sat in the cockpit. Our short guns lodged their shot in the bulwarks of the *Detroit*, where a number now remain. Her bulwarks, however, were vastly superior to ours, being of oak and very thick. Many of their grape-shot came through ours. They acknowledge that they threw combustible matter on board of us, which set our sails and rigging on fire in several places. I'm clearly of opinion that they were better manned than we were. They had a much greater number—they had veteran troops—their men were all well. We had as motley a crew as ever went into action; and our vessels looked like hospital ships.

"During the whole of the action the most complete

COMMODORE PERRY BOARDING THE "NIAGARA."

order prevailed on board the *Lawrence*. There was no noise, no bustle, no confusion. As fast as the men were wounded they were taken below and replaced by others. The dead remained where they fell until the action was over. Captain Perry exhibited that cool, collected, dignified bravery, which those acquainted with him would have expected. His countenance all the time was just as composed as if he had been engaged in ordinary duty. As soon as the action was over he gave all his attention to the securing of the prisoners and to the wounded on both sides. Captain Barclay declared to one of our officers, several days after the action, that Perry had done himself immortal honor by his humanity and attention to the wounded prisoners. The action was fought on Friday—we got into harbor next day. On Sunday all the officers on both sides, who fell, were buried on South Bass Island, at Put-in-Bay, with the honors of war."

As the intelligence of this victory was carried through the country, the most extravagant expressions of delight were everywhere displayed; and Commander Perry was hailed as the saviour of the Northwest. Salutes and illuminations, and public meetings gave evidence of the popular sentiment; and it is said "the general joy was unequalled since the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown."

But not alone from its effects on the affairs of the nation was this action memorable. Says Irving: "Were anything wanting to perpetuate the fame of this victory, it would be sufficiently memorable from the scene where it was fought. The war had been distinguished by new and peculiar characteristics. Naval warfare had been carried into the interior of a continent; and navies, as if by magic, launched from among the depths of the forest. The bosoms of peaceful lakes which, but a short time before, were scarcely

navigable by man, except to be skimmed by the light canoe of the savage, had all at once been ploughed by hostile ships. The vast silence, that had reigned for ages on those mighty waters, was broken by the thunder of artillery; and the affrighted savage stared with amazement from his covert at the sudden apparition of a sea-fight amid the solitudes of the wilderness."

THE LOSS OF THE ESSEX (March 28, 1814).—One of the most remarkable cruises on record is that of the frigate *Essex*, commanded by Captain David Porter. Intended as a consort of the *Constitution* and *Hornet*, under the general command of Commodore Bainbridge, she sailed from the Delaware on October 28, 1812, and ran to Port Praya (*St. Jago*), the appointed place of rendezvous. But in consequence of her heavy supply of stores, and her consequent dull sailing, she did not reach the rendezvous until after the commodore had left.

Thus thrown upon his own resources, Captain Porter determined to turn Cape Horn and cruise in the Pacific Ocean, where a heavy British commerce was almost wholly unprotected; and from which, it was hoped, the most desirable success might be obtained. On her progress thither the most provoking want of success was experienced, but between March 5, 1813, when she anchored off the Island of Mocha, and the time of her capture, fortune favored her crew; and one of the most successful, if not the most romantic, cruises on record fell to her lot.

The enemy's letters of marque, which had been sent out to harass the American whalers, were checked and overpowered; the enemy's commerce was completely cut up and destroyed; the single ship which entered the Pacific, without a consort, and but poorly supplied with many of the necessaries for a cruise, by manning her prizes and by levying on the enemy's commerce, had

become the flag-ship of a victorious squadron, whose progress from port to port, and from harbor to harbor, was only a series of triumphs; whose adventures assumed a character kindred to those of the marvelous navigators of earlier and darker days; whose exploits spread terror wherever it found the British flag, and even along the wharves, in the counting-rooms, and around the firesides of Britain herself.

Captain Porter thus reported:

"I had completely broken up the British navigation in the Pacific (he had captured 12 vessels containing 107 guns and manned with 302 men); the vessels which had not been captured by me were laid up, and dared not venture out. I had afforded the most ample protection to our own vessels, which were, on my arrival, very numerous and unprotected. The valuable whale fishery there is entirely destroyed, and the actual injury we have done them may be estimated at two and a half millions of dollars, independent of the expenses of the vessels in search of me. They have furnished me amply with sails, cordage, cables, anchors, provisions, medicines, and stores of every description; and the slop-shops on board them have furnished clothing for the seamen. We have in fact lived on the enemy since I have been in that sea, every prize having proved a well-found store-ship for me. I had not yet been under the necessity of drawing bills on the department for any object, and had been enabled to make considerable advances to my officers and crew on account of pay."

After having thoroughly overhauled and refitted the *Essex*, at the Marquesas, on December 12, 1813, in company with one of her prizes which had been armed with twenty guns, and called the *Essex, Junior*, the *Essex* sailed from Madison Island; and on February 3, 1814, she anchored in the bay of Valparaiso. Four

days afterwards, two British vessels of war—the frigate *Phœbe*, Captain Hillyer, of thirty-six guns, and the sloop-of-war *Cherub*, Captain Tucker, of twenty-eight guns—also entered the bay; and the former ranged up alongside the *Essex*, between that vessel and the *Essex, Junior.*

During the succeeding 43 days the four vessels were in the bay, restrained by the neutrality of the port.

Having grown weary of the blockade, and understanding that the enemy's force would be increased at an early day, Porter determined to leave port, and rely on the speed of his vessels and his skill in sailing them as the means of escape. Accordingly, on March 28, with a fresh breeze from the southward, the *Essex* stood out to sea; but before she cleared the harbor a squall struck her, carrying away her main-top-mast, after which, failing in her attempt to regain the common anchorage, she ran into a small bay on the east side of the harbor, about three-quarters of a mile from the battery, and cast anchor, within pistol-shot from the shore, with the intention of repairing her damage at that place.

In the meantime the *Phœbe* and *Cherub* had pursued the *Essex;* and when the latter, disabled, anchored within the limits of the harbor, and under the protection of its neutrality, it was properly supposed the enemy, also, would respect the rights which Porter had, previously, recognized in him. The approach of the two vessels, decked with their battle-flags, jacks, pennants, and ensigns, speedily dispelled that illusion, however; and the crippled *Essex*, separated from her "*Junior*," which had been left in the harbor, was warned, therefrom, of the hostility of his intentions, and prepared for his reception. At fifty-four minutes past three in the afternoon, the *Phœbe*—having come within range of her *long guns* while yet the *carronades* of the *Essex* were

still useless—opened a fire on the *stern* of the latter, at long-shot distance; while, at the same time, the *Cherub*, on her starboard bow, also opened an effective fire. The bow-guns of the *Essex*, however, soon rendered the situation of the latter vessel an uncomfortable one; and she bore up and ran under the stern of the *Essex*, joining with the *Phœbe* in a hot, raking fire. Having run three long twelves out from the stern-ports of the *Essex*, her crew was enabled to return the compliments of the combined enemy; and, with so much skill and effect was it done, that, within half an hour from the opening of the engagement, both vessels were compelled to haul off and repair damages.

During this brief engagement the *Essex* and her crew suffered considerably, and her ensign at the gaff and the battle-flag at her mizzen-masthead had been shot away; but when, "a few minutes" afterwards, the enemy returned to the contest, the motto flag, "FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS," at her main-masthead, sent forth the defiance which the crew on her decks so gallantly ratified a few minutes afterwards.

Having repaired his damages, the enemy returned to the action; and both his vessels, having taken their position on the starboard-quarter of the *Essex*, out of the reach of her carronades, and where her stern-guns could not be brought to bear, they opened a destructive fire on the devoted, and comparatively helpless, vessel. Under these circumstances, Porter was compelled to choose between a tame surrender, and running down and becoming the assailant. His topsail-sheets and halyards, as well as his jib and foretop-mast-staysail-halyards, having been shot away, leaving only his flying-jib-halyards, he hoisted the latter sail, cut his cable, and ran down on both ships, with an intention of laying the *Phœbe* on board. During the time which this manœuvre occupied, the fire, on both sides, was very severe—that

of the *Essex* with the hope of disabling her opponent and preventing her escape; that of the enemy to disable, still more, his opponent, and prevent her progress in the desperate mission on which she had ventured.

The *Cherub*, distrusting her abilities for a successful defence at close action, hauled off, and performed her part of the drama at a distance, with her long guns only. The *Phœbe*, also, preferring to fight at a distance, edged off as the *Essex* neared her; and, with characteristic prudence, selected that position which best suited her long guns, continuing her fire with terrible effect, while that of the *Essex* was, from her position and her helplessness, of but little use. At that time, the running rigging of the *Essex* was almost wholly shot away; and, as her sails could not be handled, she was almost entirely unmanageable. Many of her guns had been rendered useless by the enemy's shot, and many of them had their entire crews destroyed—some of them had, indeed, been remanned twice, and one of them three times.

Perceiving that the enemy had it in his power to choose his distance, and to keep off rather than to come to close action, Porter determined to run the *Essex* on shore, land his crew, and set fire to his ship. The wind favored the design, and everything appeared to favor it, until the ship had moved to within musket-shot of the shore, when the wind suddenly shifted, and blowing *from* the shore, the head of the *Essex* instantly payed down on the *Phœbe*, and exposed the decks of the devoted ship to another severe, raking fire—an advantage which was not lost sight of by the enemy.

The fire on the *Essex* continued with unabated fury, although the unmanageable ship was unable to bring a single gun to bear on the enemy. In this dilemma Porter ordered a hawser to be bent to the sheet-anchor, and the anchor to be cut down from the bows; when

her head was brought round, and the broadside again bore on the enemy. Soon afterwards the hawser parted, and the ship took fire; when, by Porter's directions, some of the crew attempted to swim ashore, while those who remained turned their attention to a suppression of the flames, in which, after a severe struggle, they were finally successful.

By this time the crew had become so weary, and so many had fallen, that further resistance was considered not only useless, but criminal; "the painful order was given to strike the colors," and the action terminated.

At this time the situation of the ship and her crew was truly lamentable. In the words of her commander, "the cock-pit, the steerage, the ward-room, and the berth-deck could contain no more wounded; the latter were killed while the surgeons were dressing them; and it was evident that unless something was speedily done to prevent it, the ship would soon sink from the number of shot-holes in her bottom. The carpenter reported that his crew had been killed or wounded; and that he had been once over the side to stop the leaks, when his slings had been shot away, and it was with difficulty he was saved from drowning." There were, therefore, no hopes of saving the ship, or of preventing her from falling into the enemy's hands, and a further sacrifice of life would have been unjustifiable.

The strength of the *Essex* in this engagement was forty 32-pound carronades and six long-twelves, with a crew of 255 men; that of the enemy was 30 long-eighteens and sixteen 32-pound carronades, with a howitzer and six three-pounders in her tops, on the *Phœbe;* and eighteen 32-pound and eight 24-pound carronades and two long-nines on the *Cherub*—the former having a crew of 320, and the latter one of 180 men and boys. The peculiarity of the movements, however, were such that, with but a slight exception, the

ships fought at long gun-shot distance; and the fighting strength therefore was thirty long eighteen-pounders and two long-nines, on the part of the enemy, against six long-twelves on the *Essex*—a disparity which will explain at a glance the disastrous termination of the engagement. The loss of the enemy from the same cause was much less than that of the *Essex*—the *Phœbe* losing four *killed* and seven *wounded;* the *Cherub*, one *killed* and three *wounded;* and the *Essex*, fifty-eight *killed*, sixty-six *wounded*, and thirty-one *missing*.

Porter thus wrote to the Secretary of the Navy:

"To possess the *Essex* it has cost the British Government nearly six millions of dollars; and yet, sir, her capture was owing entirely to accident; and if we consider the expedition with which naval contests are now decided, the action is a dishonor to them. Had they brought their ships boldly to action with a force so very superior, and having the choice of position, they should either have captured or destroyed us in one-fourth the time they were about it."

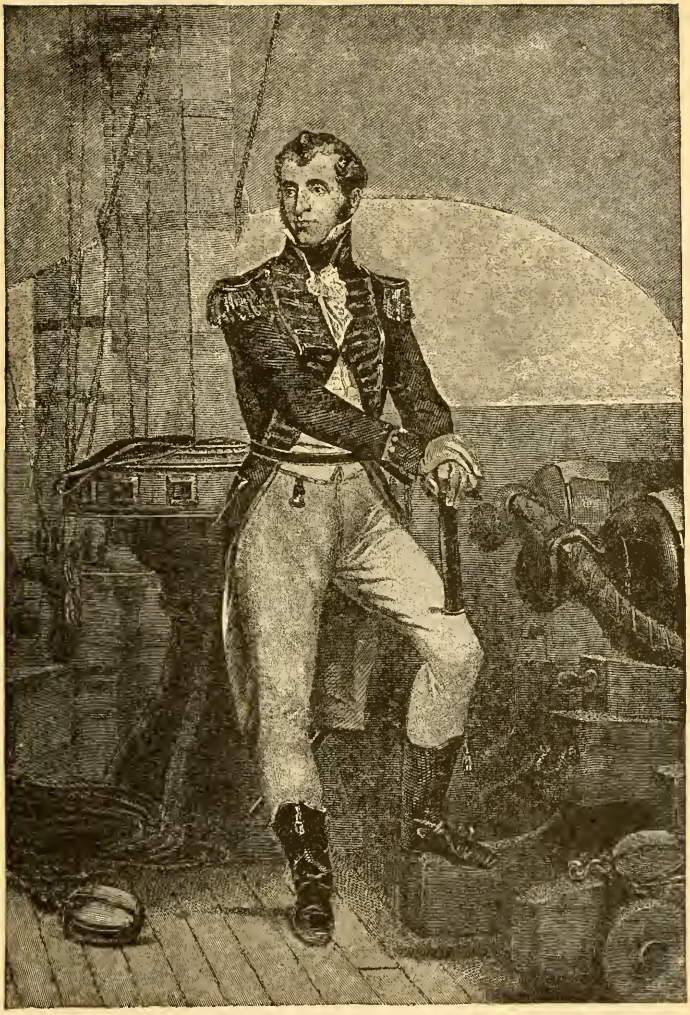
The *Essex* had landed all her specie, amounting to two millions of dollars, at Valparaiso previous to her being captured.

Loss of the President (January 16, 1815).—On January 14, 1815, the *President*, under command of Captain Stephen Decatur, dropped down to Sandy Hook, New York harbor; and during the night she attempted to cross the bar and put to sea. From some unexplained cause the pilots missed the channel, and ran the ship on one of the shoals which obstruct the entrance of the harbor; and she was detained five hours by that unexpected misfortune. As a squadron of the enemy's ships had been blockading the harbor several weeks, and had been blown off by a gale which had prevailed on the previous day, the opportunity to run the frigate

out had been embraced by Decatur, and this mishap was peculiarly unfortunate, resulting, as it probably did, in the loss to the country of the fine ship which he commanded.

At five the next morning, while steering southeast by east, three strange sail were made, within gun-shot of the *President*, and directly ahead; when she was hauled up, and passed to the northward of them, two miles distant. At daylight, however, four ships were seen in chase—two of them astern, and one on each quarter—the leading ship being about three miles distant. As the *President* was deeply laden with stores for a long cruise, Decatur ordered all hands to lighten the ship; and for that purpose water-casks were started, anchors were cut away, provisions, cables, spare spars, boats, and every article that could be got at were thrown overboard, and the sails were kept wet, from the royals down. The wind was light and baffling; and the *President's* pursuers, lightly laden, and favored with stronger breezes, gained rapidly on her—the nearest, at three o'clock in the afternoon, opening her fire from her bow-guns; and, at five, obtaining a position on her starboard-quarter, within half-point-blank-shot distance, on which neither her stern or quarter guns could be brought to bear.

After occupying this position half an hour—the enemy's fire, meanwhile, having become quite troublesome, as every shot carried away some of the *President's* rigging—and after endeavoring to prevail on the stranger to range alongside, which was declined, Decatur determined to exchange shots with her, if possible; and his crew cheerfully received the information, and joined in the measures adopted for its execution. With this object, at half-past five o'clock, while it was yet light, the *President's* helm was put up, and the course of the ship laid to the southward, with the intention



CAPTAIN STEPHEN DECATUR. 247

of closing with her opponent. The stranger, however, appeared to understand Decatur's purpose, and she too, at the same time, kept off—the ships soon afterwards coming abeam of each other, and each delivering her broadside. During the succeeding two hours and a half the two ships appear to have run off dead before the wind, about a quarter of a mile apart; and every attempt to close, which was made by the *President*, was frustrated by the simultaneous sheering off of the stranger. The action, therefore, was altogether with heavy guns; and the efforts of both appear to have been mainly directed against the spars and rigging of her opponent, until eight o'clock, when the stranger having been dismantled—" her sails being cut from her yards "—she dropped astern, and the *President* pursued her *former* course, repairing her damages, and seeking to shake off the three strangers, which, with a brig, which had also joined in the pursuit, still continued the chase, and were also rapidly gaining on her.

The chase continued in this order until eleven o'clock, when the four fresh vessels had come within gun-shot of the *President*—one of them (the *Pomone*) opening her fire on her larboard bow, within musket-shot distance; another (the *Tenedos*), within two cables' length of her quarter; and the remainder (the *Majestic* and the *Despatch*) within gun-shot astern. Thus surrounded by a force greatly superior to his own, with his ship badly crippled, and one-fifth of her crew killed or wounded, and with no chance to escape from his fresh pursuers, Decatur considered it his duty to surrender, and he hoisted a light as an indication of that purpose.

The force of the *President* was thirty-two long 24-pounders, one 24-pound howitzer, twenty 42-pound carronades, and five small pieces in her tops; the *Endymion*—with which the conflict opened—was *rated* a *forty*-gun ship, but *mounted* twenty-six long 24-pound,

twenty-two 32-pound, and one 12-pound carronade, and one long-eighteen; while the *Majestic*, razee, rated 56 guns, the *Tenedos* rated 38 guns, the *Pomone* rated 38 guns, and of the *Despatch* the real strength is not known. The loss of the *President* was 24 *killed* and 56 *wounded;* that of the *Endymion* was 11 *killed* and 14 *wounded.*

CAPTURE OF THE CYANE AND LEVANT (February 20, 1815).—On December 17, 1814, the frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Charles Stewart, sailed from Boston on a cruise; and, after looking into Bermuda, she ran over to Madeira and the Bay of Biscay, making two prizes on her way, one of which was destroyed, the other sent in.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th, a strange sail was made on the larboard-bow, when the *Constitution* hauled up two or three points, and made sail in chase. Three-quarters of an hour afterwards a second sail was made, ahead, and both were soon ascertained to be ships, standing close hauled, with their starboard-tacks on board.

The strangers were not long in ascertaining the character of the *Constitution*, although her *strength* was not at first discovered; and at four o'clock the weathermost ship made signals to her consort, and bore up for her—the *Constitution*, meanwhile, bearing up after her, setting all her canvas, and carrying away her mainroyal-mast in the chase. At five she opened her fire with her larboard bow-guns, but without effect; and perceiving that a junction of the two strangers could not be prevented, at half-past five she cleared for action, being then four miles astern of them. A series of manœuvres by the consorts, for the purpose of gaining the position, occupied their attention until near six o'clock, and they then shortened sail, and at half-cable-length distance from

each other, and awaited the approach of the *Constitution.*

At five minutes past six the frigate ranged up on the starboard side of the sternmost ship, about 300 yards distant, and opened her fire by broadsides, both her opponents answering her with spirit and effect. During a quarter of an hour the cannonade continued, when the fire of the consorts slackened; and the frigate also held her fire to allow the smoke to clear away, and that the position of her opponents might be ascertained. Immediately afterwards the *Constitution* found that she was abreast the headmost ship, while her consort was luffing up for the frigate's larboard-quarter; when the latter gave the former a broadside, and braced aback her main mizzen-topsails, backing astern, under cover of the smoke, abreast of the latter, and continued the action. During the succeeding quarter of an hour the cannonade continued, when the enemy's fire again slackened, and the headmost ship was seen, through the smoke, bearing up, with the intention of crossing the frigate's fore-foot; when the *Constitution* filled her topsails, shot ahead, and gave her two raking broadsides over the stern. It was then discovered that the sternmost ship was also wearing, when Captain Stewart immediately wore ship after her, and gave her a raking broadside; while she luffed, too, on the frigate's starboard broadside, and threw in her larboard broadside with great spirit and determination. On receiving this fire the *Constitution* ranged up on the stranger's larboard-quarter, within hail, and was about to give her starboard fire, when the latter fired a gun to leeward, and, at a quarter before seven, she surrendered. She was found to be the British frigate *Cyane*, Captain Falcon, mounting thirty-six guns, with a crew of 180 men.

About an hour afterwards the *Constitution* filled away after the ship which had been driven out of the action,

but was still visible through the dim moonlight which relieved the darkness of the night. At half-past eight the two ships met—the stranger gallantly coming up to meet the frigate, with her starboard-tacks close hauled, her topgallant-sails set, and her colors flying. Ten minutes later the *Constitution* ranged close alongside to windward of her, on an opposite tack; and the two ships exchanged broadsides. The frigate having thrown in her fire, immediately wore under the stranger's stern, and raked her; when she made sail and endeavored to escape. The frigate immediately made sail in chase; and at half-past nine she opened a fire on the fugitive from her starboard bow-guns, which cut her spars and rigging very severely. At ten o'clock, finding she could not escape, the stranger fired a gun to leeward, and she, too, surrendered, proving to be the sloop-of-war *Levant*, mounting twenty-one guns, with a crew of 156 men.

The armament of the *Constitution* at this time was fifty-two guns, and her loss during the action was three *killed* and twelve *wounded;* the enemy's loss was, on the *Cyane*, 12 *killed* and 26 *wounded;* and on the *Levant* 23 *killed* and 16 *wounded.*

Capture of the Penguin (March 23, 1815).—The capture of the *President*, already referred to, being unknown to the commanders of the other vessels composing the squadron, they followed her to sea on January 22, 1815; and made the best of their way to the Island of Tristan d'Cunha, the place of rendezvous appointed by Captain Decatur. The *Peacock* and *Tom Bowline* reached that place about the middle of March; and on the morning of the 23d the *Hornet* also arrived at the same place. She had not cast anchor, however, when the men aloft discovered a sail to windward, standing westward; when Captain Biddle immediately sheeted

home his topsails again, and making a stretch to windward, made chase. Soon afterwards the stranger was seen running down before the wind; and, as her character was apparent, the *Hornet* hove to and waited for her to come down.

At forty minutes past one in the afternoon, the stranger having come within musket-shot, she set English colors and fired a gun; when the *Hornet* luffed up, displayed her colors, and answered with a broadside. During the succeeding fifteen minutes the fire of both vessels was warm and effective, the enemy meanwhile gradually drifting nearer to the *Hornet;* and soon afterwards she put her helm hard up, and ran down on the starboard broadside of the *Hornet*, to lay her aboard; and she succeeded in passing her bowsprit through the starboard-quarter of the latter. At that instant the stranger's foremast and bowsprit went by the board, the former falling directly on her larboard guns; and her crew, probably in consequence of this mishap, made no attempt whatever to take advantage of her situation, but allowed the vessels to separate. An attempt was made to bring the brig around, in order to use her starboard battery, but in this also the crew was unsuccessful, and the *Hornet* succeeded in raking her. Perceiving that any further resistance was useless, the enemy hailed the *Hornet* and surrendered.

The prize proved to be the British brig *Penguin*, Captain Dickinson, mounting nineteen guns, besides guns in her tops; and she was manned with a crew of 132 hands. The loss of the *Hornet* was one man *killed*, and Captain Biddle, Lieutenant Conner, and eight men *wounded;* that of the *Penguin* was Captain Dickinson, her boatswain, and 12 men *killed*, the second lieutenant, two midshipmen, purser, and 24 men *wounded*. The former suffered little injury, except in her sails and rigging; the latter was completely riddled, her foremast and bowsprit

were carried away, and her mainmast was so much injured that it could not be secured.

It has been said of this—the last "battle" of the war with Britain—that "it was one of the most creditable to the character of the American marine that occurred in the course of the war. The vessels were very fairly matched, and when it is remembered that an English flag-officer had sent the *Penguin* on the special service against a ship believed to be materially heavier than the vessel she actually encountered, it is fair to presume she was thought to be, in every respect, an efficient cruiser."

The *privateers* which sailed from our ports were exceedingly active and successful. They were mainly clippers, and very fast sailors; and were engaged in many desperate encounters. Their engagements were so numerous that our limits will not allow us to enter into any specific details. Within four months after the declaration of war 26 fast sailing vessels, bearing 18 long-guns, 194 pieces of artillery, and 2233 men, sailed from NewYork; while 17 from Baltimore, carrying 22 long-toms, and 127 guns, nobly seconded the enterprise and gallantry of their neighbors; and all, alike, vindicated the freedom of the seas and the rights of man.

Lossing enumerates that "56 British vessels of war were captured on the lakes and on the ocean, mounting 886 guns, and 2360 merchant vessels, mounting 8000 guns. In addition to this 29 British ships-of-war, mounting 800 guns, were lost on the American coast by wreck, or otherwise; and that the Americans lost only 25 vessels of war, and a much less number of merchant ships than the British."

The Americans had abundant cause to be elated, and the British to be mortified. The young Republic were naturally proud of their achievements.

CHAPTER XII.

The Mexican War (1845-1848).

Texas was originally a portion of the Mexican Empire. It lies to the north-east of the other parts of Mexico, and is a solid block of territory, 700 miles in length from north to south, and 800 miles broad, where the land is at its widest. Its area has been estimated as nearly equal to the united areas of Great Britain and France. So fertile is its soil that it will produce everything which will grow in the temperate zone, with many things which require a semi-tropical country for their due development. The agricultural capabilities of the country are magnificent, while beneath the surface are mines of metal and of coal, quarries of stone, and abundance of those minerals which add to the wealth of States. Such a territory had many attractions, and more than one European nation desired to obtain possession of it. After the fall of Montezuma, in 1521, it was nominally a part of the Spanish realm, but being remote from the Mexican capital, was not peopled by the conquerors. The French, who claimed priority of discovery, formed a settlement at Matagorda, but were expelled by the Spaniards in the latter part of the 17th century. After the rising of the Mexicans against the dominion of Spain, Texas became a province of the Mexican Republic. Our citizens coveted that northern part of Mexico, and began by degrees to spread themselves over it.

Texas was in the first instance claimed by the American Government as a part of Louisiana, but the claim was in 1819 abandoned in favor of Mexico. Nevertheless, in 1821 and the following year, a colony from the United States made a settlement on both sides of the River Colorado, in what was then Mexican territory, and the local government, not foreseeing that such a movement was likely to prove their own ruin, encouraged emigration. Numbers flowed into the province, and 10,000 Americans were domiciled there in 1833. They disliked Mexican rule, with its alternations of imbecility and military dictatorship; and desired to establish a separate government, and ultimately to transfer Texas to the Union; and secret preparations were made for a revolt. The leader of these movements was General Sam Houston, a man who had already served in Congress, and been Governor of the State of Tennessee, and who as early as 1830 mentioned at Washington that he had in his mind a grand project for wresting Texas from Mexico and setting her up as an independent republic. This secret was revealed to President Jackson, who was obliged to express an official disapproval of the plan, but who applauded it in his heart. Jackson always desired to see an extension of the country in that direction, although he had assented to the treaty of 1819, which relinquished Texas in consideration of gaining Florida.

When the time came for carrying the Houston plot into execution, no real hindrance was put in the way of the adventurers by the Jackson Administration. Hostilities broke out in 1835. Every nerve was strained by the Mexican Government to suppress the rising; but it spread with alarming rapidity, and several battles ensued, some of which were obstinate and sanguinary.

On March 2, 1836, a convention declared Texas independent; and Santa Anna, the President of the Mexi-

can Republic, underwent a crushing defeat at San Jacinto on April 21, on which occasion the Americans were commanded by General Houston. The province remained for some years a perfectly independent republic, ruled by a dominant class of Americans, but not officially connected with the United States, any more than with Mexico itself. General Houston became the first President of the Republic, and was re-elected for a second term.

In time, however, it was felt desirable that this detached republic should connect itself with the great Confederation to which a large part of its population was now allied. The question began to be agitated, and the propriety of admitting Texas into the Union was much discussed in the years 1843 and 1844. The Mexican Government anticipated all discussion on the question, announcing its determination to meet any resolution for the annexation of Texas by a declaration of war.

President Tyler's allusion to the Texan question, in his Message to Congress at the close of 1843, was the first official intimation of the coming war with Mexico. The declared resolve of the Mexican Government to make the contemplated annexation a *casus belli* stimulated in a yet higher degree the determination of the Government to get possession of Texas at the earliest opportunity. An attempt to secure this end was made during 1844, but was defeated by the Senate. The demand for Texas grew louder and louder, and the President showed every inclination to gratify it, as far as the limitations on his power enabled him.

On March 1, 1845, Congress resolved in favor of receiving Texas into the Union as a State, and President Tyler gave his assent the same day. The resolution was considered by a convention of delegates called for the purpose of forming a State constitution for

Texas, and was approved by that body on July 4. Thus, this province of the far south-west became one of

GENERAL SAMUEL HOUSTON.

the States of the Union; the *largest* State in point of size. Houston was immediately elected to the U. S.

Senate, and continued a member of that body until 1859, when he was elected Governor of Texas.

The independence of Texas having been acknowledged, not only by the United States, but by England, France, and some other countries, the right of its citizens to effect any change they pleased in their condition was necessarily implied, in the estimation of the Governments making that acknowledgment. But this could not bind Mexico. She resolved on fighting, and on June 4, 1845, the Mexican President issued a proclamation, declaring the rights of his country, and his determination to defend them by a resort to arms, if that should prove necessary. Our declaration of war was dated May 13, and the Mexican declaration was issued on May 23, 1845.

President Polk was beforehand with his adversary in taking military measures. In July, 1845, he ordered General Zachary Taylor, then in command of troops in the south-west, to proceed to Texas, and occupy a position as near the Rio Grande as might appear prudent. The force was about 1500 strong, and its commander had acquired great distinction by his gallant conduct against the refractory Seminole Indians. By November, he had an army of rather more than 4000 men. A camp was formed, but the general remained inactive during the following autumn and the early part of the winter.

On January 13, 1846, the Secretary of War ordered Taylor to advance from Corpus Christi to a spot near the outfall of the Rio Grande, opposite the Spanish city of Matamoras, where a number of Mexican troops were gathering, with the design of invading Texas. Here he established a fortified camp opposite Matamoras, and commenced the erection of a fort large enough for 2000 men, to which the name of Fort Brown was given.

When Taylor advanced to the Rio Grande, the town

and fortress of Matamoras were strongly garrisoned by Mexican troops, and his position soon proved rather serious. Taylor's supplies were cut off; a reconnoiter-

PRESIDENT JOHN TYLER.

ing party was partly killed and partly captured, on April 24, on the Texas side of the Rio Grande; and the whole army was surrounded by a superior force of Mexicans. The little force stationed there was in

danger of being overpowered, and Taylor set out, on May 1, with 1100 men for the relief of the position. This he accomplished after a good deal of hard fighting, and, on being reinforced by 23,000 men, left on his return to the camp before Matamoras. On their way our troops saw in front of them a Mexican force, 6000 strong, drawn up in battle-array, on a prairie flanked by ponds of water and trees, at a spot called PALO ALTO, not far from the Rio Grande. A contest of five hours' duration ensued on May 8, and in the end the Mexicans gave way and fled. Next day a still more decisive engagement took place at RESACA DE LA PALMA, three miles from Matamoras, when we were again triumphant, and General La Vega was captured, together with 100 men, eight pieces of cannon, three standards and a quantity of military stores. The Mexican Commander-in-Chief, Arista, saved himself by flight across the Rio Grande, and the invading army on the north-east bank of that stream was completely shattered. During Taylor's absence Fort Brown had been besieged by the Mexicans. On the morning of May 3, a battery at Matamoras, on the other side of the river, opened a heavy fire on the fort, while a large body of troops crossed to attack the position. The garrison, though few in number, made a spirited defence, and succeeded in silencing the Mexican battery; but soon after the attacking forces established themselves in the rear, and began to plant cannon. Taylor had left directions to fire heavy signal guns, if the necessity arose; and on May 6 the signal was given. He arrived in time to relieve Fort Brown, and to save the detachment stationed there.

After the resumption of hostilities on November 13, Worth marched towards Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, of which he took possession on the 15th. Taylor, leaving a garrison at Monterey, proceeded towards Victoria,

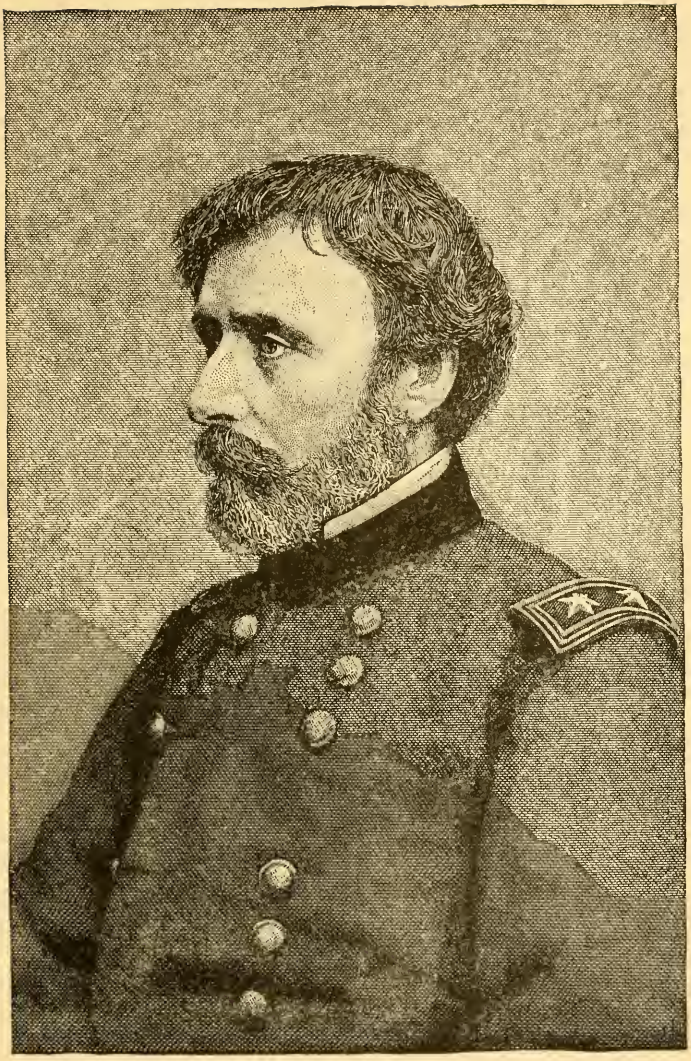
the capital of Tamaulipas, but returned on learning that Tampico, a town on the coast, which he had designed to attack, had surrendered on the 14th to Commodore

GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR.
(*Afterwards President of the United States.*)

Connor. That officer had intended to bombard the city; but when the smaller vessels from his squadron were seen approaching, a deputation from the citizens offered to surrender the place, on condition that their

laws, institutions and property were respected. We had established a strict blockade of the Mexican coast. Vera Cruz and St. Juan d'Ulloa were closely watched by cruisers, and the Mexicans had no naval power wherewith to oppose us. One of Taylor's reasons for returning to Monterey was because of a report that Santa Anna was collecting a large force at San Luis Potosi, which might possibly endanger his base of operations. When the divisions of Worth and Wool had effected a junction near Saltillo on December 20, the danger was at an end, and, nine days later, General Taylor occupied Victoria. At an earlier date, General Kearney, who had command of the Army of the West, marched nearly 1000 miles across the wilderness known as the Great Plains, and among the mountain ranges by which it is bordered, and, taking possession of SANTA FÉ, the capital of New Mexico, on August 18, reduced the whole province to subjection, without the necessity of any further operations. The governor and 4000 troops fled at the approach of Kearney, who thereupon constituted a new Government, and made preparations for further exploits.

Kearney departed from Santa Fé on September 25, 1846, at the head of 400 dragoons, for the Californian settlements of Mexico bordering on the Pacific Ocean; but, learning on his route that California was already in our possession, he sent back 300 of his men, and with the remaining hundred continued his expedition towards the west. Arriving at Los Angeles, in California, on December 27, he found a singular state of affairs. California had for some years been little more than nominally under the dominion of Mexico. Several Americans settled in the country shortly after the revolt against Spain; and an insurrection, mainly incited by them, broke out in 1836, and resulted in so complete a subversion of Mexican authority that the central government was compelled to allow the Californians to choose

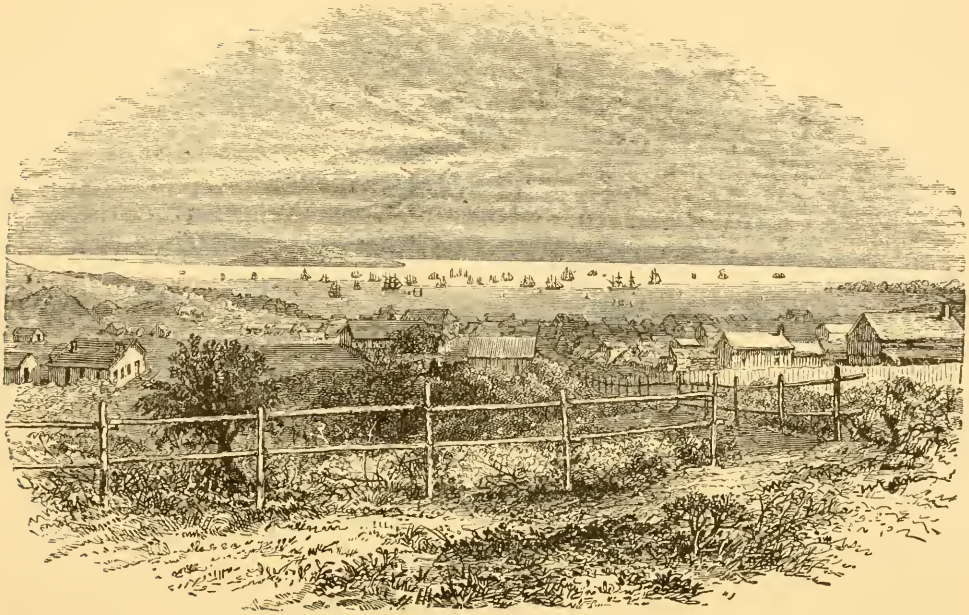


GENERAL JOHN C. FREMONT.

(*Afterwards an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency.*)

their own rulers. A state of anarchy ensued, and the prevailing influence was that of the Americans. In the spring of 1846, John C. Fremont, while engaged in explorations at the head of sixty men, had been threatened with attack by De Castro, the Mexican Governor on the Californian coast, who shortly afterwards began to prepare an expedition against the settlers near San Francisco. Fremont, losing no time, roused the menaced colony, captured a Mexican post and garrison (together with nine cannon and 250 muskets) at Sonora Pass on June 15, and then, advancing to Sonora itself, defeated Castro and his troops. The Mexican rule being thus completely crushed, an American Government was formed, with Fremont for its head, on the 4th of July. On the 7th, Commodore Sloat, then in command of the squadron in the Pacific, bombarded and captured the Californian town of Monterey, and, on the 9th, Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Fremont, being joined some time after by Commodore Stockton, seized the city of Los Angeles on August 17. It was here that he was found by General Kearney at the close of the year, and that officer took part with the other two in the final struggle—the battle of San Gabriel, which was fought on January 8, 1847, and which completed the conquest of California, after some vain efforts on the part of the Mexicans to restore their sovereignty.

In January, 1847, General Scott arrived before Vera Cruz, for the purpose of invading Mexico from that point. Being General-in-Chief of the whole American army, he took command of all the forces in Mexico, and directed General Taylor to send a large number of his best officers and troops to join the contemplated expedition. Taylor was thus left at Victoria with not more than 5000 men in all, of whom only 500 were regulars, to guard a line extending from Matamoras to Agua Nueva; while in his front was an army of



SAN FRANCISCO IN 1849.

20,000, stationed at San Luis Potosi under Santa Anna. On February 4, Generals Taylor and Wool united their forces at Agua Nueva, 20 miles south of Saltillo, on the San Luis road. The adversary was now advancing in force, and Taylor, disregarding the numerical weakness of his army, determined to accept battle. He considered it advisable, however, to select a favorable spot in which to meet the enemy, and therefore, on February 21, fell back to BUENA VISTA, at a distance of 11 miles from Saltillo, where he drew up in battle-order on an elevated plateau among the mountains, skirted on the west by impassable ravines, and on the east by a succession of rugged heights. The Mexicans were seen approaching about noon on the 22d. Some fighting followed in the afternoon, when our troops advanced to battle with the cry, "The Memory of Washington!" The principal conflict took place on February 23. The battle lasted from morning until sunset. Towards the close of the day, a desperate assault upon the centre, commanded by Taylor himself, was made by Santa Anna. It was withstood with extraordinary firmness and resolution, and, the artillery being brought into effective operation, the Mexicans were hurled back. The Mexicans withdrew during the night, leaving their dead and wounded behind them, and it was afterwards ascertained that they had lost 1500 men. In their flight many perished of hunger, thirst and fatigue. Our loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 746, of whom 28 officers were killed on the field. The victory was not only important in itself; it had the still more valuable consequence of breaking up the army of Santa Anna. The frontier of the Rio Grande being now secured, Scott was able to turn his whole attention to the capture of Vera Cruz. In the following September, Taylor returned home, leaving General Worth in command of his de-

ZACHARY TAYLOR AT BUENA VISTA, MEXICO. 267

tachment. On the day that was distinguished by the great battle of Buena Vista, General Minon, with 800 cavalry, was driven from Saltillo by Captain Webster. On the 26th a number of Mexicans were defeated at Agua Frio; and on March 7 Major Giddings was successful against the enemy at Ceralvo.

Some operations were directed against the Mexican province of Chihuahua. Early in December, 1846, a force consisting of 900 men, under Colonel Doniphan, marched more than 1000 miles through the enemy's country, fighting two battles against superior forces, and in both instances prevailing. The battle of Bracito, on the east bank of the Rio Grande, was fought on Christmas Day, and resulted in the capture of El Paso, situated in a valley 30 miles south of Bracito, on the opposite side of the river. This action was followed, on February 28, 1847, by the battle of Sacramento. The scene of the latter conflict was a small stream about 20 miles north of Chihuahua, a city containing at that time more than 40,000 inhabitants. The surrender of this place ensued shortly afterwards, and Doniphan, planting the flag of the United States upon its citadel on March 2, took possession of the whole province in the name of the Government. Having stayed there six weeks, he joined General Wool at Saltillo; and by these brilliant feats all the northern parts of Mexico were placed in our possession.

The great purpose of the campaign had now been accomplished, and the capital of Central Mexico had fallen. The heaviest blow which Mexico had experienced had now fallen on her; and never before had so marked an evidence of her weakness been exhibited to the world. A mere handful of undisciplined Volunteers had marched triumphantly through her northern provinces; some of her most accomplished generals, and the most intelligent of her troops, had been met and over-

come; and the colors of her enemy floated in triumph over the capitals of New Mexico, Alta California, and Chihuahua.

VERA CRUZ.—It was hoped to bring the Mexicans to terms by operating on their remoter provinces; but, as they showed no signs of yielding, it was resolved to subjugate the whole country, and strike at the very capital itself. This was the plan which Scott undertook to carry out, and the first step towards its realization was to be the capture of Vera Cruz, the principal seaport of Mexico, built on the spot where Cortez first landed on Mexican territory. The city was regarded as the key to the entire realm, and was certainly a position of first-class importance. It was defended by the fortress of San Juan d'Ulloa, situated on an island or reef not more than 400 fathoms from the shore. The fortress was exceedingly strong, and by the Mexicans was supposed to be impregnable. Scott collected his forces at Lobos Island, 125 miles north of Vera Cruz, and thence sailed in the squadron of Commodore Connor for his place of destination. On March 9, 1847, he landed near Vera Cruz, with an army of 13,000 men. The city was invested on the 13th, and five days later the town and fortress were summoned to surrender. This being refused, the trenches were at once completed, and on the 22d the first batteries opened fire, at a distance of 800 yards from the city. The attack was aided by the guns of the fleet, and answered by the artillery of the city and castle. Until the morning of the 26th, this horrible storm of destruction glared and clamored to and fro between the besiegers and the besieged, causing a large destruction of property in the city and the loss of many lives. Arrangements were then commenced for an assault, when the governor of Vera Cruz made overtures of surrender. On the night of the

27th articles of capitulation were signed, and on the 29th the city, the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, 5000 prisoners and 500 pieces of artillery were given up.

In spite of the numerous successes, the position of our troops was difficult and perilous. They were hated by the Mexicans, who, regarding them as oppressors and heretics, strove wildly to throw off their yoke. A revolt against the alien government broke out in New Mexico in January, 1847. Governor Bent and others were murdered at Fernando de Taos on the 19th, and massacres occurred in other places as well. A large body of insurgents assembled in arms, and it was found necessary to despatch a force against them. They were defeated and dispersed; but, although suppressed in its outward manifestations, the feeling of bitter opposition did not cease to exist. Our Government was impressed with the desirability of a speedy peace, if it could be obtained on favorable terms. Towards the end of 1846, overtures of this nature were made to the Mexican authorities, but they still thought they could vanquish their antagonists, and the war went on. Santa Anna accepted the Presidency on December 6, 1846, but, leaving the conduct of political affairs to the Vice-President, he placed himself at the head of the army. After his defeat by Taylor at Buena Vista on the 22d and 23d of February, 1847, he took up a position at Cerro Gordo, a narrow pass at the foot of the eastern chain of the Cordilleras, to the north-west of Vera Cruz. Here he strongly fortified himself at points which dominate the only road leading through the mountain fastnesses into the country beyond. He had with him a large force of men and several pieces of cannon; and to dislodge him from this post would evidently be a work of difficulty. Scott did not shrink from attempting it. On April 8 he sent forward the advanced guard of his army, under General Twiggs. Leaving a garrison at

Vera Cruz, Scott himself followed with the main body, about 8500 strong. The assault was made on the morning of April 18, when, after much hard fighting, every one of the Mexican positions was taken by storm, and 3000 prisoners, 43 pieces of bronze artillery, 5000 stand of arms, and all the munitions and materials of the opposing army were captured. Santa Anna, who, before the battle, had boasted that he would die fighting rather than yield, was glad to escape on a mule, leaving his papers and his wooden leg behind him.

Continuing their march towards the metropolis, the victorious army entered Jalapa on the 19th, and on the 22d the castle of Perote, situated about 90 miles in a direct line north-west of Vera Cruz, surrendered without any resistance, together with a large number of cannon, and many warlike stores. Scott again pushed on, and on May 15 the advance, under General Worth, entered the city of Puebla, which, though walled and fortified, made no opposition to the conquering hosts. The invading army was now to the south-east of the capital, and the reduction of that city had yet to be effected. It was necessary to allow the soldiers some rest, for their labors had been extreme, and they had, in the course of two months, gained a series of brilliant victories, and carried dismay into the very heart of Mexico. In that brief period they had captured several fortified places, scattered the ranks of the enemy, made 10,000 prisoners, and taken 700 pieces of artillery, 10,000 stand of arms, and 30,000 shells and cannon-balls. These results were due partly to the weakness of the enemy, but in a greater degree to the valor, discipline, and perseverence of our soldiers. The difficulties encountered were enormous. The mountainous character of the country made it perplexing for an invader, and proportionately easy of defence. Another adverse influence was the climate; and the number of strong fortresses to

be taken added to the troublesome nature of the task. Yet all these obstacles were overcome by the skill of General Scott and his companions; and for the present they recruited themselves at Puebla.

Santa Anna had concentrated the larger number of his troops at El Penon and Mexicalcingo, where he had raised a line of fortifications which it would not have been easy to carry. On this account Scott, after a reconnoissance on the 14th, resolved to diverge from the main road; and by the 18th the entire army had reached St. Augustine, ten miles from the city of Mexico. In this change of position, the right flank of our divisions were protected by the lakes round which they marched, so that there was no danger of a sudden attack. We had in front the fortress of St. Antonio, while we were at the same time threatened by the battlements crowning the heights of Churubusco, by the fortified camp of Contreras, where General Valencia lay with 6000 troops, and by the army under Santa Anna, stationed in the position already described.

General Worth established himself in the Hacienda of Bureo on August 18, and from this point could see the enemy at work upon his batteries. The Mexicans opened on the advancing columns, but little was done until the 19th, when the fire was so hot that our troops were compelled to shelter themselves behind the farm buildings. Several attempts were made to dislodge the Mexicans from their position, but without success. Violent rain was now falling, and the troops, being ill-equipped, were obliged to bivouac for the night without any blankets. On the following morning, however, the batteries in the vicinity of Contreras were carried by assault, and, after only seventeen minutes' fighting, were in our hands. In this brief but fiery passage of arms, the Mexicans lost 700 killed, numerous pieces of artillery, and 1500 prisoners. At the same time, Scott him-

self, in a prolonged and sanguinary action, carried the heights of CHURUBUSCO. The main body of the army now pushed on towards the capital; but Worth was ordered to remain behind, and effect the capture of St.

PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK.

Antonio. The place was held by 15,000 Mexicans, while Worth had only 6000 troops at his disposal. Nevertheless, the position was taken, after two hours' fighting. The garrison were much cut up in their

retreat, and the Mexican cause now looked so hopeless that a truce, proposed by Scott, was gladly accepted, with a view to negotiations for peace.

There were now but few positions remaining between the advancing ranks of the invaders and the metropolis of Mexico itself. On September 8, Scott, not waiting for the termination of the armistice on the later date, attacked the position called El Molinos del Rey (the King's Mills), near Chepultepec. The post was one of much strength, and is said to have been held by 14,000 Mexicans, under the immediate command of Santa Anna, while the attacking force consisted of scarcely 4000. In the first instance, we were driven back with great slaughter; but, on rallying, we carried the position, after a desperate conflict of an hour. The Mexican loss was nearly a 1000; our own loss was over 800. On the same morning, the Casa de Mata, another of the principal outer defences of Chepultepec, was also stormed and carried; and the castle itself, situated on a rocky height, 150 feet above the adjacent ground, was now the only obstacle which remained to be overcome before the victorious legions should plant their flag within the capital itself.

The situation of the Mexican metropolis is peculiar. It stands in the centre of a wide plain surrounded by mountains, a portion of which plain is occupied by four lakes. The surface of three of the lakes is above the level of the city, while the other is only a few feet below it. In the rainy season, the rush of water from the neighboring mountains is so great that the lakes overflow, and convert the land about the capital into a marsh. The approaches to Mexico are by long narrow causeways leading to the several gates; and these causeways were in 1847 defended by the fortified post which our troops carried before them in such rapid

succession. Before the final operations, Santa Anna issued an address to the inhabitants of Mexico, in which he said :—" The enemy proclaimed that he would propose to us a peace honorable for both nations, * * * but our enemies set up measureless pretensions, which would have destroyed the Republic, and converted it into a miserable colony of the United States."

Several batteries were raised by Scott against the castle of Chepultepec on the night of September 11, and a heavy bombardment was opened on the 12th. This was followed on the 13th by an assault, in which the attacking forces drove the defenders from all their positions, and obtained complete possession of the fortress. The Mexicans fled towards the city, pursued by General Quitman. Fighting was renewed during the day on the lines of the great causeways; but by nightfall one division of our army had reached the suburbs of Mexico, while another had penetrated within the gates. Santa Anna, the remains of his army, and the officers of the Government, sought refuge in flight; and early on the morning of September 14, a deputation from the municipal authorities waited upon General Scott, and begged him to spare the town, and once more enter on negotiations for peace. Scott was not then willing to discuss terms of submission. He had expended a large amount of life in reaching the metropolis of the republic, and he resolved to humble the pride of the enemy by entering in force into the ancient capital of the Mexican dominions. He accordingly directed Generals Worth and Quitman to move forward along two of the chief causeways, and plant the flag of the United States upon the National Palace. General Scott entered at the head of his staff, accompanied by a squadron of cavalry, at ten o'clock in the morning, and in the Grand Plaza, or large public square, in the principal part of the city, took formal possession of the

conquered metropolis, where the stars and stripes were waving in triumph over the palace of the Montezumas. It was a moment of pride and exultation for all concerned, which, when the news came to be known, sent a glow of satisfaction through the popular heart.

Peace negotiations terminated on February 2, 1848. This treaty was proclaimed in the United States on the 4th of July by President Polk, and the long quarrel between the two republics was brought to an end. Among the chief stipulations of this agreement were the evacuation of Mexico by the American armies within three months; the payment of three millions of dollars in hand, and of twelve millions more in four annual instalments, by the United States to Mexico, on account of the ceded territory; and the assumption by the former of certain debts due to their citizens, to the amount of three and one-half millions of dollars. Fresh boundaries between the two countries were determined on; New Mexico and Upper Califorina were handed over to us; and the free navigation of the Gulf of California, and of the river Colorado up to the mouth of the Gila, was guaranteed to the United States. The old dominion of the Montezumas was thus curtailed. The realm which Cortes added to the Spanish Monarchy was reduced to comparatively small proportions. A singularly successful war had terminated in a peace which brought substantial advantages to the conquerors; and the conquered, left to the influence of domestic factions, fell back into that condition of anarchy which with them seems chronic and incurable.

[The Battles for the Union during the Civil War, extending from 1861 to 1865, forms a second volume in *Altemus' Historical Series.*]